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Edward Earle of CLARENDON, Lord High CHANCELLOR of England
and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. An°. Dni. 1667.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME I. PART I.

OXFORD,

Printed at the THEATER, *An. Dom.* MDCCXII.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION and CIVIL WARS

IN

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Imprimatur,

RO. MANDER

Vice-Can. Oxon.

Apr. 29. 1702.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

ANNE R.

ANNE, by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come Greeting. Whereas Our Truſty and Well-beloved *William Delaune*, Doctor in Divinity, and Vice-Chancellor of Our Univerſity of *Oxford*, has humbly repreſented unto Us, in the behalf of the ſaid Univerſity, that They have at a Great Expence already Publiſh'd one Volume of the late Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, and intend in a ſhort time to Publiſh the Second and Third Volumes for Compleating the Work; and the ſole Right of the Copy of the ſaid Work being Veſted in Our Univerſity of *Oxford*, and They having humbly beſought Us to Grant Them Our Royal Privilege and Licence for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the ſame for the Term of Fourteen Years; We being Graciouſly enclined to encourage the ſaid Undertaking, are pleaſed to condeſcend to their Requeſt; and do therefore hereby Give and Grant unto Our ſaid Univerſity of *Oxford*, Our Royal Licence and Privilege, for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the ſaid Three Volumes of the late Earl of *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, for and during the Term of Fourteen Years, to be computed from the Day of the Date hereof; ſtrictly Charging, Prohibiting, and Forbidding all Our Subjects to Reprint or Abridge the ſaid Hiſtory, or any Part of it, or to Import, Buy, Vend, Utter, or Diſtribute any Copies of the ſame, or any Part thereof, Reprinted beyond the Seas, within the ſaid Term, without the Conſent and Approbation of Our ſaid Univerſity firſt had and obtain'd, as They and every of them Offending herein will Anſwer the Contrary at their Peril, and ſuch other Penalties as by the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm may be inflicted; Whereof the Maſter, Wardens, and Company of Stationers of Our City of *London*, the Commiſſioners and Officers of Our Cuſtoms, and all other Our Officers and Miniſters whom it may Concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleaſure herein ſignified. Given at Our Court at *Hampton-Court* the 24th day of *June* 1703. In the Second Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majeſties Command.

C. Hedges.

C: Hawkins.

THE PREFACE.

AT length comes into the World, The First Volume of the History of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars in England, begun in the Year 1641, with the precedent Passages and Actions, that Contributed thereunto, and the Happy End and Conclusion thereof, by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return, upon the 29th of May in the Year 1660; *Written by* Edward *Earl of* Clarendon, *once Lord High Chancellor of* England, *and Chancellor of the Famous University of* Oxford. *The first of these great Dignities King* Charles *the Second had conferr'd on Him, whilst he was yet in Banishment with Him; which he held, after the Restoration, above seven Years, with the Universal Approbation of the whole Kingdom, and the General Applause of all good Men, for his Justice, Integrity, sound Judgement, and Eminent Sufficiency in the discharge of that Office; a Praise, which none of his Enemies ever denied Him, in any Time: The Other He receiv'd from the choice of the University, who, upon the Vacancy of that Place, by the death of the Marquis of* Hertford, *then Duke of* Somerset, *judg'd They could not better manifest their steddiness in the*

Cauſe for which They had ſuffer'd, and their Reſolutions of adhering to their Old Principles, in ſupport of the Church of England, *and the Ancient Monarchical Government of this Kingdom, than in chooſing to place the Protection of their Intereſt in both, under the care of One, who had ſo early diſtinguiſh'd Himſelf, even from the firſt Approaches of the Civil War, in aſſerting and maintaining the diſtreſſed Rights of the Church and Crown.*

This Hiſtory was firſt begun by the expreſs Command of King Charles *the Firſt, who, having a deſire, that an account of the Calamities, God was pleaſed to inflict on the Unhappy part of his Reign, ſhould be reported to Poſterity by ſome worthy, honeſt, and knowing Man, thought He could not appoint any One more adorn'd with ſuch Qualifications, than this Author.*

It is a difficult Province to write the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars of a Great and Powerful Nation, where the King was engaged with one Part of his Subjects againſt the other, and both Sides were ſufficiently inflamed: And the Neceſſity of ſpeaking the Truth of ſeveral Great Men, that were engaged in the Quarrel on either Side, who may ſtill have very conſiderable Relations, deſcended from Them, now Alive, makes the Task Invidious, as well as Difficult.

We are not ignorant that there are Accounts, contain'd in this following Hiſtory, of ſome Eminent Perſons in thoſe Times, that do not agree with the relations we have met with of the ſame Perſons, publiſh'd in other Authors. But, beſides that they who put forth this Hiſtory, dare not take upon them to make any Alterations in a Work of this kind, ſolemnly left with them to be publiſh'd, whenever it ſhould be publiſh'd, as it was deliver'd to Them; they cannot but think the World will generally be of Opinion, that others may as likely have been miſtaken in the grounds, and informations they have gone upon, as our Author; who will be eſteem'd to have had opportunities, equal at leaſt with any others, of knowing the Truth; and, by the Candor,

and Impartiality of what He relates, may be believ'd not to have made any wilful miſtakes.

However, all things of this Nature muſt be ſubmitted, as this is, with great deference to the judgement of the equal Reader; who will meet, in his progreſs through this work, with many Paſſages, that, he will judge, may diſoblige the Poſterity of even well meaning Men in thoſe days; much more then of ſuch as were crafty, cunning, and wicked enough to deſign the miſchiefs that enſued: But he ſhall meet with none of Malice, nor any but ſuch as the Author, upon his beſt information, took to be Impartially true. He could not be ignorant of the Rules of a good Hiſtorian (*which*, Cicero *ſays*, are ſuch foundations, that they are known to every body) That he ſhould Not dare to ſpeak any Falſehood; and ſhould dare to ſpeak any Truth. *And we doubt not, but through the whole progreſs of this Hiſtory, he will be found to have given no occaſion of ſuſpecting his writings* guilty of partial favour, or unjuſt enmity; *and we hope, that the repreſenting the Truth, without any mixture of private Paſſion or Animoſity, will be ſo far from giving offence to any Ingenuous Man of this time, that it will be receiv'd rather as an Inſtruction to the preſent Age, than a Reproach upon the laſt.*

Moreover, the Tenderneſs that might ſeem due, out of Charity, good Manners, and good Nature, to our Country-Men, our Neighbours, or our Relations, hath been indulged a long ſpace of time; and might poſſibly be abuſed, if it ſhould not give way, at laſt, to the uſefulneſs of making this work publick, in an Age, when ſo many Memoirs, Narratives, and pieces of Hiſtory come out, as it were on purpoſe to juſtify the taking up of Armes againſt that King, and to blacken, revile, and ridicule the ſacred Majeſty of an Anointed head in diſtreſs; and when ſo much of the Senſe of Religion to God, and of Allegiance and Duty to the Crown, is ſo defaced, that it is already, within a little more than fifty Years ſince the Murther committed on that Pious Prince, by ſome Men made a Myſtery to judge, on whoſe ſide was

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the Right, and on which the Rebellion is to be charged.

We hope therefore it will be judg'd neceſſary as well as uſeful, that an impartial Account of the moſt material Paſſages of thoſe unhappy times ſhould at laſt come out; and that We ſhall have the general Approbation, for having contributed thus far to Awaken Men to that Honeſty, Juſtice, Loyalty, and Piety, which formerly Engliſh *Men have been valuable for, and without which it is impoſſible any Government, Diſcipline, or Authority can be long maintain'd.*

There is no doubt, but this good King had ſome Infirmities, and Imperfections; and might thereby be miſled into ſome miſtakes in Government, which the Nation, in Parliament repreſented, might have reform'd by moderate and peaceful Counſels. But the Reformation loſt it's Name, and it's Nature too, when ſo many Acts paſs'd by him in Parliament, that did reſtrain the Prerogative of the Crown from doing the Miſchiefs it had been taxed with, had not the effect they ought to have met with, of reſtraining the People too from farther demands; and when the inordinate Ambition, Anger, and Revenge of ſome of the great Leaders could not be limited within any Bounds, till they had involv'd the Nation in Blood, deſtroy'd many Thouſands of their own Country-Men, and fellow Citizens, and brought at laſt their own Sovereign to loſe his Head on a Scaffold, under a pretended form of an High Court of Juſtice, unprecedented from the beginning of the World; and, to Finiſh their work, had overthrown all the Laws of their own Country, in the Defence of which, they would have had it thought, they had been oblig'd to draw their Swords.

Without queſtion, every body that ſhall duly conſider the whole Account of theſe Tranſactions, will be able to impute miſtakes, miſcarriages, and faults enough to both Sides: And we ſhall leave them to their own ſedate and compoſed Reflections. But We cannot omit making this one Obſervation, that where any King by ill Judgement or ill Fortune, of his Own, or Thoſe entruſted by him in the chief Adminiſtration of his Government, happens to fal

fall into an Interest contrary to that of his People, and will pursue that mistake, that Prince must have Terrible Conflicts in the course of his Reign, which way soever the Controversy ends: On the other hand, that People, who, though Invaded and Oppressed in their just Rights and Liberties, shall not rest satisfied with reasonable Reparations and Securities, but, having got Power into their hands, will make unjustifiable Use of it, to the utter Subversion of that Government they are bound in Duty and Allegiance to Support, do but at last make Rods for their own Backs, and very often bring upon themselves, from other hands, a more severe Bondage than that they had shook off.

To demonstrate this General Observation, let it be consider'd in particular, what was the Advantage this poor Nation gain'd from all the Victories obtain'd over King Charles *in the Field, and, afterwards, in the Imprisoning, and Prosecuting him to 'Death: What amends did it make for the Infringement and Prejudice, they complain'd of, in their Rights and Liberties, to set up the Protector* Cromwell, *who, under a Thousand Artifices and Cruelties, intended no other Reformation, but, instead of Whips, to chastise the poor People with Scorpions; and, instead of their Idol Common-wealth, which some had vainly imagin'd to Themselves, to make himself that very hated thing, a King, which had been so abominable in his own Sight? And after him, what did all the other several sorts of Government, set up sometimes to gratify the Ambition of one Party, and sometimes of Another, end in, but so many several ways of Oppression; which, after many Years spent in Exhausting the Blood and Treasure of their Country, at length made way for the happy Restoration of the Son, and Family of that King (whom they had so Barbarously brought to an untimely End) with the utmost Scorn, and 'Derision of all that pretended to Rule in His stead?*

Here We might descend into Particulars, to make out the other part of our Observation, by giving instances, how some of our own Kings have, unhappily, been led

into

into very dangerous miſtakes in their Government; and how many Years have paſſed almoſt in one perpetual Strife, and unfortunate Contention between the Prince and the People, in Points of the higheſt conſequence; and eſpecially thoſe which have brought the Prince, ſometimes, under the diſadvantageous ſuſpicion of being inclin'd to the love of Arbitrary Power, and favouring the Popiſh Religion; than which the moſt mortal Enemies to the Crown of England *cannot poſſibly contrive, or wiſh, more miſerable circumſtances for it to be involv'd in. But We are rather deſirous to draw a Veil over all the Calamities, that have proceeded from this Cauſe; as well becauſe the impreſſions thoſe miſtakes have made, and the marks they have left behind them, will not eaſily be worn out; as that it might look like inſulting over Their Misfortunes, who have been the Chief Loſers by them; which We have, in no kind, the Inclination, or the Heart to do: Neither would we be thought to give Countenance, by what We write, to the Opinions of thoſe, who would Juſtify the Riſing up in Armes of Subjects, to do themſelves Right in any Controverſy between them and their King.*

Non hæc in fœdera ——

The Nature of our excellent Government hath provided, in the Conſtitution of it, other remedies, in a Parliamentary way; wherein both the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Rights of the People may be better ſecur'd. And beſides, We know to whom Vengeance peculiarly belongs, and that He who challenges that Power to Himſelf, will not ſuffer it to be Communicated to any other.

But We ſhould think our ſelves very fortunate, if, in the Reflections we have been making on this Subject, We have repreſented the Truth, on both ſides, with that Fairneſs and Impartiality, in the perplexed condition of our Own Affairs, that all Princes may ſee and judge, that it can never turn to their Advantage, to be in an Intereſt contrary to that of their People, nor to give their

Subjects

Subjects unreasonable Provocations. For (as in other Cases, where the Laws both of God and Man are too often broken, though very strict and positive, so in this point too) the People may not always be restrain'd from attempting by force to do themselves Right, though they Ought not.

And we hope no less, that the People will be convinced, that it were wiser and better for them, to obtain the Redress of their Grievances by such ways, as the Ancient Laws of this Kingdom have provided: and that the Constitution of King, Lords, and Commons, is the happiest Composition of Government in the World; and so suited to the Nature of English *Men generally, that though it be expelled for a Time, yet it will return.*

We would therefore heartily wish both for Prince and People, if either of them should be guilty of any irregular Deviations from their own Channels, that they who are injured would content themselves with gentle Applications, and moderate Remedies, lest the last error be worse than the first: And above all, that whosoever may have a thought of Ruling in this Land, may be throughly convinced in his own judgement, that it is a Crown of Briers and Thorns that must be set on his Head, without he can satisfy all reasonable Men, that it is his fixed Principle and Resolution, inviolably to defend our Religion, and preserve our Laws.

Upon the whole matter, We have often wonder'd, and rest still amazed, that any Prince should care to Govern a People against their Nature, their Inclinations, and their Laws. What Glory can it be to a Prince of a great Spirit, to subdue, and break the Hearts of his own Subjects, with whom he should live properly as a Shepherd with his Flock? If two Lovers, who should pass their time in renewing, repeating, and returning all the Offices of Friendship, Kindness, Tenderness, and Love, were, instead of that, unluckily contriving always to Cross, Oppose, and Torment one another, what could be the effect of such a Conversation, but Vexation and Anguish in the beginning, a short liv'd Correspondence, and Hatred, and Contempt in the conclusion?

Our

Our Conſtitution is the main Point ever to be regarded; which, God be praiſed, hath been preſerv'd through ſo many Ages. For though there have been ſome Men often found, and of great parts too, who, for their private advantages, are aiding, ſometimes the Monarch, and ſometimes the Party that would be a Common wealth, under ſpecious Pretences for the Publick Good, to exceed the Limits the Conſtitution hath preſcribed in this Country; yet the Nation ſtill finds, in all Ages, ſome truly Publick Spirits, that preſerve it from being long impoſed upon. There is a craft, and a perpetual ſubtilty, that Men of Private Intereſt muſt work with to ſupport their own deſigns: But the true Intereſt of the Kingdom is the plaineſt thing in the World: It is what every Body in England *finds and feels, and knows to be Right, and they are not long a finding it neither. This is that Intereſt, that is ſupported* Non tam fama, quam ſua vi; *it's own weight ſtill keeps it ſteddy againſt all the Storms, that can be brought to beat upon it, either from the Ignorance of Strangers to our Conſtitution, or the Violence of any, that project to themſelves wild Notions of appealing to the People out of Parliament (a Parliament ſitting) as it were to a fourth Eſtate of the Realm; and calling upon them to come and take their ſhare in the direction of the Publick, and moſt Important Conſultations. This We conceive to be another way of undermining the Ancient and true Conſtitution, but not like to be more effectual than ſome others, that have been tried before; ſince We have the experience that no violence, nor almoſt ruin, hath, hitherto, hinder'd it from ſettling again upon it's old foundation.*

There hath been, within the compaſs of few years, much Talk, and, God knows, *too many ill effects too, of Factions in this Kingdom; and We have liv'd, in our days, to ſee the Two great Parties, of late known by the Names of* Whig *and* Tory, *directly change their ground; and thoſe, who were formerly the Anti-Courtiers, become as pliant and obſequious, as ever They were who had been the moſt found fault with on that Score.*

But

But We are humbly of opinion, that, at this time of day, neither of those Parties have the Game in their hands, as they have formerly perhaps fancied to themselves. But they who shall be so honest, and so wise, constantly to prefer the true Interest of England *to that of any other Country or People, preserve the Religion and the Laws, protect and promote the Trade of the Nation, thriftily and providently administer the publick Treasure, and study to maintain the Soveraignty of our Seas, so naturally, so anciently, and so justly the true defence of this Kingdom; that Body, whomsoever it shall be composed of, shall have the Weight of* England *on it's side; and if there can be any of another frame, they must, in the end, prove so many miserable rotten Reeds.*

Well may other Princes and States, whose Situation requires it for their own Security, find it their Interest, for the preservation of their Credit and Reputation amongst their Neighbours, to keep constantly in pay great Numbers of Land Forces; in which they are still vying one with the other, and boasting who can raise his Thousands, and who his ten Thousands: but they will be found but Young States-men for Our Government, who can think it advisable, that the Strength of this Island should be measured by Proportions so unsuitable to it's true Glory, and Greatness. As well might David *have thought it requisite, when he was to encounter the great Giant of the* Philistines, *that He likewise must have had a Staff to his Spear like a Weavers Beam. But that* Man after Gods own heart *thought it more expedient to his advantage over the Enemy he was to contend with, to come against him with Arms that he had tried, and that he could weild. When* Saul *arm'd him with his own Armour*, and put an Helmet of Brass on his head: and arm'd him with a Coat of Mail, *David himself says*, He could not go with these, for he had not prov'd them. *Which makes us a little reflect on the circumstances of our own Nation, That whereas the Fleet of* England *hath been Renown'd, through so many Ages, for the Honour and Security of this Kingdom, in*

these

these latter days, by an unaccountable improvidence, our care has been more industriously applied to the raising great Numbers of Land Forces, than in Maintaining and Supporting the glorious Ancient Bulwarks of our Country; and when we have to do with an Enemy, whom We so far excel in strength at Sea, that, with a little more than ordinary application, We might hope to restrain his Exorbitant Power by our Naval Expeditions, We have imploy'd our greatest Industry, and a vast Expence, to attack him by Land in that part, where, by the strength of his numerous Garrisons, he must be, for many Years, at least, invulnerable.

But it is to be hoped the Great Allies themselves, to whom, We doubt not, the English *Nation wishes all Happiness and Prosperity, as being bound up with them in the same Interest, will at last be sensible, that this Kingdom cannot be useful to the Common Cause in any other way, so much as at* Sea. *The Situation of this Country adapts it for Advantages by* Sea: *The Trade of it enables it to go on with a War by* Sea: *And neither of them can long bear a great Expence of a War in a Forreign Land: The experience of former Successes at* Sea *makes the Nation ever fond of imploying it's Vigour* There: *and the perpetual jealousy that, some time or other, Endeavours may be used, by the encrease of Land Forces, to advance another Greatness, and another Interest, will fix the Genius of the Nation still to depend on it's Greatness, and it's Security by* Sea.

Suadere Principi quod oporteat, magni laboris; assentatio erga Principem quemcunque sine affectu peragitur, *was a saying of* Tacitus, *and one of those that is perpetually verified. For We see, in all times, how Compliance and Flattery gets the better of Honesty, and plain Dealing. All Men indeed love best those that dispute not with them; a Misfortune, whilst it is amongst private Persons, that is not so much taken notice of; but it becomes remarkable, and grows a publick Calamity, when this uncomely obsequiousness is practised towards great Princes, who are apt to mistake it for*

Duty,

Duty, and to prefer it before ſuch Advice as is really good for their Service; at leaſt till the folly, and vanity of ſuch proceedings comes to be ſeen through; and then the reward of their unſeaſonable Courtſhip frequently overtakes the miſerable Authors, though the diſcovery come to late to preſerve from ruin the Maſter, who hath been deluded.

An Eminent Poet of our own Nation calls this Flattery the Food of Fools; and yet it is a Plant ſo guarded and fenc'd about, ſo cheriſh'd and preſerv'd in all Courts, that it never fails of bringing forth much wretched fruit; and will ever do ſo, till God Almighty ſhall ſend ſuch a diſcerning Spirit into the hearts of Princes, as may enable them to diſtinguiſh between thoſe, that ſerve to obtain their own Ends, and thoſe, who have only in their View the true Intereſt, and Honour of their Maſters; and to puniſh, inſtead of encouraging, thoſe bold Corrupters of all right Judgement, Juſtice, Honeſty, and Truth.

If at any time it might be hoped this dangerous Generation of Men ſhould be diſcountenanced, one might be allow'd to look for it in an Age, when a Revolution hath been thought neceſſary to make a Reformation: For where the Foundations of the Earth were taken to be out of Courſe, more ſteddineſs, a ſtricter Virtue, and a more unblameable Adminiſtration will be expected to come in the Room of it.

If Princes would bear it, it would be an Advantage to Them, as well as Happineſs to their Subjects, to hear plain and bold Truths, when deliver'd with Duty, and Decency, and Privacy, from their faithful Servants, in their own life time; whilſt they might yet redreſs, and correct any miſtakes of their Judgement, or Will. But becauſe they generally defend themſelves from thoſe Approaches by their Greatneſs, and the Awe they uſually ſtrike on thoſe that come near them, the next beſt way to incline them to reflect duly upon themſelves, is to get them to read the Memorials of Times paſt: Where

They will see how those who have once Govern'd the World, are treated, when they are dead and gone; and that it is the Privilege, and Practice of all present Ages, to speak without restraint of those that are past: As, We may be confident, the next that comes after this We live in, will not forget to put their Stamp, and their Censure, on what they shall judge good, or bad, in any part of it. And this truth will be allow'd in all times, that a great King, who is known to Govern in his own Person, who is not managed by his Ministers, but does Himself give the direction, the life, and determination to all his Commands, as he ought to have the Glory, and the Merit of his Conduct and Skill, brought to his own Account without a Rival, so he will have the Misfortune of having the errors of his Reign, if any there be; imputed likewise to Himself.

We have been led, from one step to another, farther than the scope of a Preface to this History might properly have drawn Us, were it not that the observation of the miscarriages in former Times, continued down by degrees, as we conceive, from the like mistake, and the like root of animosity and discontent, had engaged us to make some Remarks on the most eminent of them, and to lay them together in one view, for every Man's calm Judgement and Animadversion, as the best means, in our Opinion, to prevent any such for the future. Which makes Us hope the Reader will not be offended with some Excursions, upon publishing such a Work, that hath so much of Information and Instruction in it, that it must furnish to every one great variety of Reflections; and, amongst others, the observation of this particular, and almost continual Misfortune to all Princes, who are apt to think that, out of the great Numbers of their Subjects, and the Crowd of their Courtiers and Flatterers, they can never want a supply of just and faithful Servants; which makes them so little value, and so often throw away their best and ablest Ministers; whereas there is in truth nothing so difficult for a Prince, as to find

find a good, honeſt, juſt, well temper'd, and impartial Servant; and it is almoſt impoſſible to preſerve him long. For whoſoever comes to the Yoke of true painful drudgery in his Maſter's Service, from that moment creates to himſelf ſo many induſtrious Enemies, as he cannot gratify in all their ſeveral wild pretenſions, to diſplace and deſtroy him. So that ſuch a Man's Station muſt be extreme ſlippery, and his favour oftentimes ſhort liv'd, whoſe whole time being taken up in promoting the ſolid greatneſs of his Maſter, and the good of his Country, he cannot have leiſure to take care of Himſelf. For whilſt he is watching the Enemies of the State, and laying Foundations for the happineſs of future Times, as well as for the ſecurity of the preſent, and looking after all the Parts of the Adminiſtration; that the Religion of the Land may be Reverenced; the Juſtice of the Nation Unblemiſh'd; the Revenues of the Crown carefully and honeſtly collected, and diſtributed with an equal hand of Generoſity and good Husbandry, according to the ſeveral occaſions that may require either; How can ſuch a Miniſter be watching the ſecret Machinations of the Envyers, and Underminers of his Credit and Honeſty? And therefore he may be forgiven, if, being conſcious to himſelf of his own Integrity towards the Publick, he contemns the little Arts of ill deſigning Men; by which however, from the firſt hour of his entering into the Service of his Maſter, he is continually purſued, till he is at length hunted down, and unavoidably deſtroy'd at Court.

We do not intend here to write the particulars of the Life of this Author; but We may ſay in ſhort, that ſuch a Figure as is here deſcrib'd of a great and Superiour Miniſter, and, in ſome degree, of a Favourite too, this excellent Man made, for about two years after the Reſtoration of the King his Maſter, who, during that time, relied entirely on his Advice, and Conduct. There were indeed ſome other Great and Wiſe Men, whom the King, for ſome conſiderable time, conſulted in his weightieſt Affairs. There was the Earl of Southampton, *then*

Lord High Treaſurer of England, *with whom our Author had always an entire and faſt Friendſhip, and whom all Men, that knew him, honour'd for his great Abilities, and eminent Integrity. There was the Duke of* Albemarle, *then Lord General, who had the honour, and good Fortune of bringing moſt things, and Men, at that time to bear together, for the Reſtoration of that King, and the Royal Family to the Seat of their Anceſtors. There was the then Marquis of* Ormond, *ſoon after his Majeſty's Return made Lord Steward of the Houſehold, and Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland; *who had not only follow'd, but even graced his Maſters Fortunes, in all the time of his Exile, with the Attendance of ſo eminent, and meritorious a Subject; who had often ventur'd his Perſon, and loſt all his Large Eſtate in the ſteady purſuit of Loyalty and Duty to the Crown, and Zeal for the true Religion. There was the Earl of* Sandwich, *who had, when Admiral, and General at Sea, to his ſhare the glorious part of bringing the Fleet of* England, *and the Body of the Engliſh Sea-men, to concur in the King's Reſtoration; and had, before that time, been very meritorious towards his Majeſty, as is mention'd at large in the enſuing parts of this Hiſtory. Theſe were the principal; and beſides theſe, there was one more, who, though in a different rank, was admitted, at that time, into the moſt intimate Truſt and Confidence, Old Secretary* Nicholas; *who had ſerv'd his two Maſters, King* Charles *the firſt and ſecond, with ſo much Faithfulneſs and Integrity, as to be juſtly entituled to a part in the moſt important Adminiſtration. But, without the leaſt deſign of detracting from the Credit or Intereſt of theſe great, and honourable Perſons, We may truly ſay, our Author had the preference of them all in the King's Favour and Eſteem; and by his prudence, knowledge, and experience, in which he ſhar'd with the others, and his Indefatigable Labour and Pains, wherein, it is moſt certain, they did not ſhare with Him, he had the Happineſs, without their Envy, and with their Concurrence,*

currence, to have the greateſt ſhare in diſpoſing the minds of the People, and the King too, to agree then on ſuch meaſures in Parliament, as laid the foundation of that Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity this Nation hath enjoy'd ſince.

He had the Happineſs to have the greateſt ſhare in preſerving the Conſtitution of our Government entire, when the Then preſent Temper of the People, was but too ready to have gone into any undue complyance with the Crown.

He had the happineſs, amongſt ſeveral other good Acts of Parliament, to have the greateſt ſhare in compaſſing and perfecting the Act of Oblivion and Indemnity; the Act for confirming Judicial Proceedings; and the Act of Uniformity; by which the People of England *were quieted in their Minds, and ſettled in their Poſſeſſions; and the Church of* England *redeem'd from the oppreſſions it had lain under, and eſtabliſh'd and ſet up by the Law of the Land, as it was alſo by our bleſſed Saviour's promiſe to all thoſe that ſerve him in Holineſs and Truth, on that Rock, againſt which the Gates of Hell were not to prevail. This is that Church, which deſires to have her Doctrine underſtood, as well as obey'd; and which depends on the Infallibility of Scripture for her Guide; but never could be drawn to allow it to any Mortal Men, whether in a ſingle Perſon, or a greater Number; and which, of all the Churches in the World, does moſt rationally inform her Members in the Practice of pure Religion and undefiled towards God, with Decency in Worſhip, without Affectation, Superſtition, or Oſtentation; and Obedience to the King, with due Regard to the Conſtitution, and the Laws of the Land. By God's bleſſing on theſe means, our Author had the happineſs to leave laſting Monuments of his Judgement, and Piety; of his Loyalty to his Prince, and his entire Love to his Country.*

It was during the Miniſtry of this Perſon, and whilſt he was in his greateſt Credit, that memorable Expreſ-

ſion was uſed, in one of King Charles *the Second's Speeches to both Houſes: That in all his Deliberations and Actions, his principal Conſideration ſhould be, What will a Parliament think of them?*

Every Body then knew, by whoſe Advice that King was inclin'd to make that wiſe Declaration. And certainly it had been happy for him, if he had always practiſed it; and all England *hath reaſon to wiſh, that all Miniſters had continued, to this day, to give the like wholeſome Counſel.*

Hæ tibi erunt Artes,

ſaid our Author, to a King of England: *Keep always well with your Parliaments. Let no vain whimſey of the Example of other Countries, but utterly impracticable in this, delude you. Keep always in the true Intereſt of the Nation; and a King of* England *is the greateſt, and happieſt Prince the World.*

How this Perſon came firſt to leſſen in his Credit, and afterwards, in the ſpace of about five Years, to fall quite out of that King's Favour, to be Diſgraced, as the Language at Court is, and Baniſh'd, muſt be a little touch'd; and We ſhall make an end. They who were then moſt concern'd in his Misfortunes, and felt the moſt ſenſible ſtrokes of his Majeſty's diſpleaſure in their Family, have it not in their Hearts to lay any thing hard at the Door of that King, once a moſt gracious, and indulgent Maſter to our Author, and who was certainly not of a Diſpoſition to do harſh things to any Body; and who, as We have Reaſon to believe, out of the ſenſe of unkind Uſage to the Father, did afterwards, by his own ſingular Goodneſs and Favour, much againſt the mind of ſome in Credit with him, draw his two Sons, who yet Survive, into a very great degree of Truſt, and Confidence near him; and particularly beſtow'd on the ſecond, extraordinary marks of Honour and Bounty, that are to deſcend to his Poſterity.

We take them both to be Men of ſo much Piety to their Father, and ſo much Spirit in themſelves, that they would by no means be bribed to omit any thing upon this Occaſion, that might be of Uſe or Advantage to the Honour of one they owe ſo much Duty to; if they could conceive, that there was need, at this time of day, to contribute to the Juſtification of his Innocency. The World hath laſted long enough, ſince the Misfortunes of this Honourable Perſon, to be throughly convinced, that there was nothing in all thoſe Articles Exhibited againſt him in Parliament, that did in the leaſt touch or concern him. One of his Sons, then of the Houſe of Commons, offer'd in that Houſe, that if they who accuſed him, would but take the Pains to prove to the Houſe any one of the Articles, and take which they would, if they made out but any one of them all, Himſelf, and all his Friends, would acknowledge him guilty of all.

But there is no need now of the Vindication of ſuch a Man, whom every Body, in their Conſciences, do not only acquit of any Crime, but all Good Men ſpeak of with Honour; and who ſtill lives in the opinion of all true Engliſh-*Men, in as high a Reputation as any Man to this day.*

Yet, although We intend to decline all manner of Reflection on the Memory of that King, We may be allow'd to ſay, That that excellently well natur'd Prince, who did very few ill natur'd things in his Reign, was prevail'd upon, in this caſe, not only to put out of his Service one of the moſt Faithful and Ancient Servants then alive to his Father, or Himſelf (which is not to be ſo much complain'd of; for it would be a hard Tye indeed for a Prince to be, as it were, Married to his Servants for better, for worſe) but to conſent to an Act of Parliament, that oblig'd this his poor Servant to end his days in Baniſhment, with Old Age and Infirmities to attend him: This might be thought a little hard-hearted to inflict upon a Man, who had the Honour and Happineſs,

in the more vigorous part of his Life, to have led the King himself through his own Exile, with Credit and Dignity, and in more Honour and Reputation, than usually attends Unfortunate Princes, that are depriv'd of their own Dominions; and at last, in the fulness of God's own Time, had the Happiness to have so considerable a share in the Conduct of his Restoration. For it was by this Author principally, that the continual correspondence was kept up with the Loyal Party in England, *in order to cultivate good thoughts of his Majesty in the minds of his People, and to bring them, in some sort, acquainted with his Temper and Disposition, before they could know his Person. This Author likewise framed, disposed, and drew those Letters and Declarations from* Breda, *which had so wonderful an Effect all over* England, *and were so generally approv'd here, that they were, almost all, turn'd into Acts of Parliament.*

Many perhaps may not unreasonably believe, that the Marriage of the then Duke of York *with the Daughter of this Author might have been one great occasion, if not the Foundation of his Fall; and though it be most undoubtedly true, that this very unequal Allyance was brought to pass entirely without the knowledge, or Privity of this Author, but so much the contrary, that when the King, at that time, made him more than ordinary expressions of his Grace to him, with Assurances that this Accident should not lessen the Esteem, and Favour his Majesty had for him; yet his own good Judgement made him immediately sensible, and declare it too, to those he was intimate with, that this must certainly be the occasion of the diminution of his Credit.*

The continual dropping of Water does not more infallibly make an hollow in a Stone, than the perpetual Whispers of ill Men must make impression in the heart of any Prince, that will always lie open to hear them; nor can any Man's mind be sufficiently guarded from the influence of continued Calumny, and Backbiting.

When the Duke of York *had made this Marriage, it was not unnatural to thoſe ill minded Men to ſuggeſt, that, for the time to come, that Miniſter would be contriving Advantages for the good of his own Poſterity, to the prejudice of his Soveraign, and Maſter. What their wickedneſs, poſſibly, would have allow'd Them to practice, was ground enough to them for an Accuſation of His Innocency.*

It was true, that the Duke of York *was become the Chancellor's Son in Law; and therefore they hoped to be believ'd, when they ſaid, that to ſatisfy his Ambition, he would forfeit his Integrity; which, God knows, was not true.*

Thus what Tacitus *obſerves in the time of* Tiberius, *of* Granius Marcellus, *who was inform'd againſt to have ſpoken ill words of that Emperour, was here, in ſome ſort, verified on our Author.*

Inevitabile crimen, *ſays* Tacitus *concerning thoſe words,* nam, quia vera erant, etiam dicta credebantur.

The Allyance was undeniable; there were Children born of it; and the King was not bleſſed with any from his Marriage. An inevitable Crime laid on our Author. For, becauſe it was true, that there were Children from one Marriage, and not from the other, it was ſuggeſted, that both Marriages had been ſo contriv'd by the Chancellor: though the King knew very well, that his own Marriage had not been firſt projected, or propoſed by this Author; and that he had often told his Majeſty, what ſuſpicions there were in the World, that that Great and Virtuous Princeſs might prove unfruitful.

Another inevitable Misfortune, which was then laid as a Crime too on our Author, was a Report very falſely, but very induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, that firſt begat a Coldneſs, and, by degrees, very much diſinclin'd a great many of the Royal Party to him; a Report, that he ſhould have inſtilled into the King's mind a Principle, that he muſt prefer his Enemies, and advance Them, to gain

them

them to be his Friends; and for his Old Friends, it was no matter how he used Them, for They would be so still. To which very scandalous misrepresentation We must give this true Answer:

It fell out indeed, that every Man's Expectation, that had labour'd all the heat of the day in the Vine-yard, who had receiv'd Wounds in their Persons in the day of Battle, or suffer'd in their Fortunes or Liberties, for the preservation of a good Conscience during the Usurpation of Tyranny and Anarchy, was not, and, alas! could not, be recompenced immediately according to their Merit, or the Hopes they had entertain'd: And because it was true that they were disappointed, it was believ'd by some of them, that our Author, being Minister at that time, had instill'd this damnable Doctrine and Position, that it was no matter how the King used his Old Friends; and because it was true that they were not consider'd as they deserv'd, it must be believ'd, as they would have it, that He was the Author of that Advice.

It was true that the King, who was so wonderfully Restor'd with all that Glory and Peace, more perhaps upon the confidence of his Declarations and Promises from Breda, *than any other Human means, and who had thought it necessary to recommend, in his most gracious Speech to both Houses, upon the passing the Act of Indemnity, that all marks of distinction and division amongst his Subjects, should be for ever buried and forgotten, did not think it for his Honour, and true Interest, to Reign over a Party only of his Subjects; and therefore, immediately after his Restoration, in order to the Settlement of his Court, and Family, the then Earl of* Manchester, *whose part every body remember'd to have been very Eminent, in the time of the Rebellion, against King* Charles *the First, but who had industriously applied himself several years to the King, to make reparation for his former Errors, and had been considerably serviceable to him in several occasions, was Honour'd*

nour'd with the Office of Lord Chamberlain of the Houſe-hold; to let the Kingdom ſee, how the King Himſelf began with practiſing what he exhorted his Subjects to, that admirable Art of Forgetfulneſs, when he put Such a Perſon into ſo Eminent a Station in the Government, near his own Perſon. And it was certainly of Advantage to the King, in the beginning of his Settlement here, as well as a Mark of Juſtice in his Nature, to let his Subjects know and feel, that every one of them might capacitate himſelf, by his future behaviour, for any Dignity and Preferment.

But it could never be in the Heart of a Man, who had been all along on the Suffering ſide, to do his own Party ſo baſe an Office with the King, as this falſe Report did inſinuate. He might be of opinion that the fatted Calf was to be kill'd, for the Entertainment of the Prodigal Son, whenever he return'd; that there might be no diſtinction of Parties kept up amongſt Us; but he could never forget the Birthright of the Eldeſt Son, who had ſerv'd the King ſo many Years, and had not at any time tranſgreſſed his Commandment, and ſo well deſerv'd that praiſe, and that reward, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine. *And yet this Calumny, falſe as it was, was another inevitable Crime, or at leaſt Misfortune. For without that opinion, which ſome of the Royal Party had ſuck'd in, that the Chancellor had abandon'd their Intereſt, it had been impoſſible to have engaged a Majority in that Parliament, to have conſented to that Act of Baniſhment.*

God forgive the Inventors and Contrivers of that foul Calumny: But, by his Almighty Providence, who from Heaven reveals Secrets, it was not long before that Party was diſabuſed. For, though the Chancellor, for ſome time, bore the blame, that they had not been more conſider'd, it was quickly found, that it was not from Him, but from the miſtaken Politicks of the new Statesmen, that they were deſign'd to be neglected. Nor did

they

they at all find themſelves more taken notice of, after his Removal; nor have the ſeveral other Parties in the Kingdom, that have been cheriſhed, and countenancëd in oppoſition to this, much declin'd, as We conceive, to this day.

But after all, We are humbly of opinion, that it was neither of theſe above mention'd unavoidable Misfortunes, nor both together, that gave the fatal, and laſt deciſive blow to the fortune of this good Man. The King had too good a Judgement, and was too well natur'd, to have been impos'd upon barely by ſuch Attacks as theſe; which he knew very well himſelf, as to our Author's guilt in them, were Frivolous and Unjuſt.

But there are always in Courts ſecret Engines, that Actually conſummate the Miſchiefs, that others, in a more publick way, have been long in bringing to paſs: And in this Caſe there were two principal ones:

The One, the Intereſt of ſome of the Zealots of the Popiſh Party, who knew this Miniſter had too much Credit in the Nation, though he ſhould loſe it with the King, to ſuffer the Projects, they perpetually had, of propagating their Religion, to take effect, whilſt he ſhould be in the Kingdom.

The Other, the Faction of the Ladys, too prevalent at that time with the King, who were afraid of ſuch a Man's being near him, as durſt talk to him, as he had ſeveral times taken the Liberty to do, of the ſcandal of their lives, and reprove both the Maſter and the Miſtreſſes, for their publick unlawful Converſations.

Thus theſe two Intereſts, joyning their Forces, were ſo powerful, that there was no reſiſting them, by a Man, who could not make Court to Either. And ſo he fell a Sacrifice to the Ambition, and Malice of all ſorts of Enemies, who were deſirous of getting new places to themſelves in the Court, and of trying new Inventions in the State.

And yet it is to be obſerv'd, that That King, who was, almoſt all his Reign, ever labouring, with much pains,

to get a little Eaſe, which he might perhaps have attain'd with leſs trouble, and, no doubt, hoped, by getting rid of this old importunate Counſellor, to terrify any Man from preſuming afterwards to tell him ſuch bold Truths, had ſcarce ever after any Serenity in his whole Reign: But thoſe very Women, or others in their places, and the Factions he himſelf had given countenance to, grew too hard for him, and tore him almoſt to pieces, ſometimes in the favouring of one Party, and ſometimes of another, without Steadineſs of his own, or confidence enough in any of his Servants, to guide him through thoſe perplexities, that could not have been brought upon him, but by his own conſent.

We dare ſay, there were ſome hours in his Life, that he wiſh'd he had had his old Chancellor again; who, he knew, was a more skilful Pilot than any of his new States-men:

(Tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum)

And that he had not, by his too much eagerneſs to get rid of one old Servant, given too great an handle to have new Meaſures, and new Counſels, ſo often impoſed upon him, throughout the whole remaining part of his life.

Thus We have finiſh'd our Preface, which We thought incumbent on us to make, who had liv'd to be acquainted with this Author, and to have known his merit, that it might attend the publiſhing this Hiſtory, to give the preſent Age ſome information of the Character of him they are to read. And as we deſir'd to perform it with reſpect to his Memory, ſo, We hope, We have not exceeded the bounds of truth and modeſty, which he himſelf would have taken unkindly from thoſe that are doing this Office to him. Whatever Misfortunes he might have in his life; whatever Enemies he might have had; or whatever Errors he might have committed (which

few

few Men in his high Stations escape quite clear of) We presume to think he deserves, from all impartial Men, the praise of an honest, just, and able Servant to the Church and Crown, and to be rank'd amongst the great and good Ministers of State.

And now We will conclude all, with a thanksgiving to God in Saint Luke, Glory be to God on high, and on Earth peace, good will, towards Men.

For God's name ought ever to be glorified in all his dispensations; whether they be attended with the Prosperities, or Adversities of this present World. We speak it knowingly, that our Noble Author did so throughout the Course of his Misfortunes, and that he did adore, and magnify God's holy Name, for all his Mercies so plentifully bestow'd upon him; and particularly for giving him the Courage, and Virtue, constantly to act and suffer honourably through all the considerable Employments of his life; and, more especially, to endeavour to keep things even between the King and the People (the everlasting labour of a faithful Servant) rather than advance his own favour, by unreasonably advancing the Prerogative on the one hand, or his credit, by courting the Popular Interest, on the other; which We heartily wish, all Men, in the highest Authority under a King of England, *may ever remember to practice.*

And whoever are acquainted with the Sons of this Noble Author, must do them this justice to own, they have often declar'd, that they have found themselves as well the better Christians, as the better Men, for the afflicted, as well as prosperous parts of their Father's Life; which hath taught them, to be the less surprised with the various turns, they have met with in the Course of their own. With Saint Paul, *they* have learnt to know how to be exalted, and how to be abased. *This as Christians: And with* Horace, *who attributes more to Fortune, they have learnt to have always in their minds,*

Laudo

Laudo manentem, ſi celeres quatit
Pennas, Reſigno quæ dedit.

And having thus glorified God on high, that they may do all in them lies towards promoting Peace on Earth, they do very heartily declare, and profeſs good Will towards all Men; and bear no unkindneſs to any that were the Contrivers of the undeſerv'd Misfortunes of their Noble Father.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK I.

Deut. IV. 7, 8, 9.

For what Nation is there ſo great, who hath God ſo nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for?
And what Nation is there ſo great that hath Statutes, and Judgments ſo righteous as all this Law, which I ſet before you this day?
Only take heed to thy ſelf, and keep thy ſoul diligently, leſt thou forget the things which thine eyes have ſeen.

The Preface of the Author.

THAT Poſterity may not be Deceived, by the proſperous Wickedneſs of thoſe times of which I write, into an Opinion, that nothing leſs than a general Combination, and univerſal Apoſtacy in the whole Nation from their Religion, and Allegiance, could, in ſo ſhort a time, have produced ſuch a total and prodigious Alteration, and Confuſion over the whole Kingdom; And that the Memory of thoſe, who, out of Duty and Conſcience, have oppoſed that Torrent, which did overwhelm them, may not loſe the recompence due to their Virtue, but having undergone the injuries and reproaches of This, may find a vindication in a better age: it will not be unuſeful, for the information of the Judgement and Conſcience of men, to preſent to the world a full and clear Narration of the Grounds, Circumſtances, and Artifices of this Rebellion; not only from the time ſince the flame hath been viſible in a Civil war, but, looking farther back, from thoſe former paſſages and accidents, by which the Seed-plots were made and framed, from whence thoſe miſchiefs have ſucceſſively grown to the height they have ſince arrived at.

And in this ensuing History, though the hand and judgement of God will be very visible, in infatuating a People (as Ripe and Prepared for Destruction) into all the perverse actions of folly and madness, making the Weak to contribute to the designs of the Wicked, and suffering even those, by degrees, out of a Conscience of their Guilt, to grow more Wicked than they intended to be; letting the Wise to be imposed upon by Men of small understanding; and permitting the Innocent to be possessed with laziness and sleep in the most visible article of Danger; uniting the Ill, though of the most different Opinions, opposite Interests, and distant Affections, in a firm and constant league of Mischiefs; and dividing those, whose Opinions and Interests are the same, into Faction and Emulation, more pernicious to the Publick than the Treason of the others: whilst the poor People, under pretence of Zeal to Religion, Law, Liberty, and Parliaments (words of pretious esteem in their just signification) are furiously hurried into Actions introducing Atheism, and dissolving all the Elements of Christian Religion; Cancelling all obligations, and destroying all foundations of Law and Liberty; and rendring, not only the Privileges, but the very Being of Parliaments desperate and impracticable: I say, though the immediate finger and wrath of God must be acknowledg'd in these perplexities and distractions; yet he who shall diligently observe the distempers and conjunctures of Time, the ambition, pride, and folly of Persons, and the suddain growth of Wickedness, from want of care and circumspection in the first impressions, will find all these Miseries to have proceeded, and to have been brought upon us from the same natural causes, and means, which have usually attended Kingdoms swoln with long Plenty, Pride, and Excess, towards some signal mortification, and castigation of Heaven. And it may be, upon the consideration how impossible it was to foresee many things that have happen'd, and of the necessity of overlooking many other things, we may not yet find the Cure so desperate, but that, by God's mercy, the Wounds may be again bound up; and then this prospect may not make the future Peace less pleasant and durable.

I Have the more willingly induced my self to this unequal task, out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that blessed end: and though a piece of this Nature (wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others, must be boldly look'd upon and mention'd) is not likely to be published in the Age in which it is writ, yet it may serve to inform my self, and some others, what we ought to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have done. For which work, as I may not be thought altogether an incompetent Person, having

been preſent as a Member of Parliament in thoſe Councils before, and till the breaking out of the Rebellion, and having ſince had the Honour to be near two great Kings in ſome Truſt, ſo I ſhall perform the ſame with all faithfulneſs, and ingenuity; with an equal obſervation of the faults and infirmities of both ſides, with their defects and overſights in purſuing their own ends; and ſhall no otherwiſe mention ſmall and light Occurrences, then as they have been Introductions to matters of the greateſt Moment, nor ſpeak of Perſons otherwiſe, than as the mention of their Virtues or Vices is eſſential to the work in hand: In which I ſhall, with truth, preſerve my ſelf from the leaſt ſharpneſs, that may proceed from private provocation, and in the whole, obſerve the rules that a Man ſhould who deſerves to be believed.

I SHALL not then lead any Man farther back in this journey for the diſcovery of the entrance into thoſe dark ways, than the beginning of this King's Reign. For I am not ſo ſharp-ſighted as thoſe, who have diſcerned this Rebellion contriving, from (if not before) the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and fomented by ſeveral Princes, and great Miniſters of State in *Chriſtendom*, to the time that it brake out. Neither do I look ſo far back as I do, becauſe I believe the deſign to have been ſo long ſince formed, but that by viewing the Temper, Diſpoſition, and Habit, at that time, of the Court and of the Country, we may diſcern the minds of Men prepared, of ſome to Act, and of others to Suffer all that hath ſince happened; the Pride of this Man, and the Popularity of that; the Levity of one, and the Moroſity of another; the Exceſs of the Court in the greateſt Want, and the Parſimony and Retention of the Country in the greateſt Plenty; the ſpirit of Craft and Subtlety in ſome, and the Unpoliſhed Integrity of others, too much deſpiſing craft or art; all contributing joyntly to this maſs of Confuſion now before us.

A View of the beginning of K. Charles I. Reign.

KING *James* in the end of *March* 1625. died, leaving his Majeſty that now is, engaged in a War with *Spain*, but unprovided with money to manage it; though it was undertaken by the conſent and advice of Parliament: the People being naturally enough inclined to the War (having ſurfeited with the uninterrupted Pleaſures and Plenty of 22 years Peace) and ſufficiently inflamed againſt the *Spaniard*; but quickly weary of the charge of it: And therefore, after an unproſperous and chargeable attempt in a Voyage by Sea upon *Cadiz*, and as unſucceſsful, and more unfortunate one upon *France* at the Iſle of *Ree* (for ſome difference had likewiſe about the ſame time begotten a War with that Prince) a general Peace was ſhortly concluded with both

Kingdoms; the Exchequer being ſo exhauſted with the debts of King *James*, the bounty of his Majeſty that now is (who upon his firſt acceſs to the Crown, gave many coſtly inſtances of his favour to Perſons near him) and the charge of the War upon *Spain*, and *France*, that both the known, and caſual Revenue being anticipated, the neceſſary ſubſiſtence of the Houſehold was unprovided for; and the King on the ſuddain driven to thoſe ſtreights for his own Support, that many ways were reſorted to, and inconveniencies ſubmitted to for Supply; as ſelling the Crown-Lands, creating Peers for money, and many other particulars, which no acceſs of power, or plenty, ſince could repair.

PARLIAMENTS were Summoned, and again Diſſolved in diſpleaſure: and that in the fourth year (after the Diſſolution of the two former) was determined with a Profeſſion, and Declaration, that, "ſince for ſeveral ill ends the calling again "of a Parliament was divulged, however his Majeſty had "ſhewed, by his frequent meeting with his People, his love "to the uſe of Parliaments, yet the late abuſe having, for the "preſent, driven his Majeſty unwillingly out of that courſe, "he ſhall account it preſumption for any to preſcribe any "time to his Majeſty for Parliaments. Which words were generally interpreted, as if no more Aſſemblies of that nature were to be expected, and that all Men were prohibited upon the penalty of Cenſure, ſo much as to ſpeak of a Parliament. And here I cannot but let my ſelf looſe to ſay, that no Man can ſhew me a Source, from whence thoſe waters of bitterneſs, we now taſte, have more probably flowed, than from theſe unreaſonable, unskilful, and precipitate Diſſolutions of Parliaments; in which, by an unjuſt ſurvey of the Paſſion, Inſolence, and Ambition of particular Perſons, the Court meaſured the Temper and Affection of the Country; and by the ſame ſtandard the People conſider'd the Honour, Juſtice, and Piety of the Court; and ſo uſually parted, at thoſe ſad ſeaſons, with no other Reſpect, and Charity one toward the other, than accompanies Perſons who never meant to meet but in their own Defence. In which the King had always the diſadvantage to harbour Perſons about him, who with their utmoſt Induſtry, falſe Information, and Malice, improved the faults, and infirmities of the Court to the People; and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the People ſuſpected, if not odious to the King.

I AM not altogether a ſtranger to the paſſages of thoſe Parliaments (though I was not a Member of them) having carefully peruſed the Journals of both Houſes, and Familiarly converſed with many who had principal parts in them. And I cannot but wonder at thoſe Counſels, which perſwaded the

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courſes then taken; the habit and temper of Mens minds, at that time, being, no queſtion, very applicable to the Publick ends; and thoſe ends being only diſcredited by the Jealouſies the People entertain'd from the manner of the proſecution, that they were other, and worſe than in truth they were. It is not to be denied, that there were, in all thoſe Parliaments, eſpecially in that of the fourth year, ſeveral Paſſages, and diſtempered Speeches of particular Perſons, not fit for the Dignity, and Honour of thoſe places, and unſuitable to the Reverence due to his Majeſty and his Councils. But I do not know any formed Act of either Houſe (for neither the Remonſtrance, nor Votes of the laſt day were ſuch) that was not agreeable to the Wiſdom, and Juſtice of great Courts upon thoſe extraordinary occaſions. And whoever conſiders the Acts of power, and injuſtice of ſome of the Miniſters, in thoſe intervals of Parliament, will not be much ſcandalized at the warmth, and vivacity of thoſe meetings.

In the Second Parliament there was a mention, and intention declared of granting five Subſidies, a proportion (how contemptible ſoever in reſpect of the preſſures now every day impoſed) ſcarce ever before heard of in Parliament. And that Meeting being, upon very unpopular, and unplauſible Reaſons, immediately Diſſolved, thoſe five Subſidies were exacted, throughout the whole Kingdom, with the ſame rigour, as if, in truth, an Act had paſſed to that purpoſe: Divers Gentlemen of prime Quality, in ſeveral Counties of *England*, were, for refuſing to pay the ſame, committed to Priſon, with great rigour and extraordinary circumſtances. And could it be imagined, that thoſe Men would meet again in a free Convention of Parliament, without a ſharp, and ſevere expoſtulation, and inquiſition into their own Right, and the power that had impoſed upon that Right? And yet all theſe Provocations, and many other, almoſt of as large an extent, produced no other Reſentment than the Petition of Right (of no prejudice to the Crown) which was likewiſe purchaſed at the price of five Subſidies more, and, in a very ſhort time after that Supply granted, that Parliament was likewiſe, with ſtrange circumſtances of Paſſion on all ſides, Diſſolved.

The abrupt, and unkind breaking off the two firſt Parliaments was wholely imputed to the Duke of *Buckingham*; and of the Third, principally to the Lord *Weſton*, then Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; both in reſpect of the great Power, and Intereſt they then had in the Affections of his Majeſty, and for that the time of the Diſſolutions happened to be when ſome Charges, and Accuſations were preparing, and ready to be preferred againſt thoſe two great Perſons. And therefore the Envy, and Hatred, that attended them thereupon,

was Insupportable, and was visibly the cause of the murther of the first (stabbed to the Heart by the hand of a Villain, upon the meer impious pretence of his being odious to the Parliament) and made, no doubt, so great an impression upon the Understanding, and Nature of the other, that, by degrees, he lost that temper and serenity of Mind, he had been before master of, and which was most fit to have accompanied him in his weighty Imployments: insomuch, as, out of indignation to find himself worse used than he deserved, he cared less to deserve well, than he had done; and insensibly grew into that Publick hatred, that render'd him less useful to the Service that he only intended.

I WONDER less at the Errors of this nature in the Duke of *Buckingham*; who, having had a most generous Education in Courts, was utterly ignorant of the Ebbs, and Floods of Popular Councils, and of the Winds that move those Waters; and could not, without the spirit of Indignation, find himself, in the space of a few weeks, without any visible cause intervening, from the greatest height of popular Estimation that any person hath ascended to (insomuch as Sr *Edward Coke* blasphemously call'd him our Saviour) by the same breath thrown down to the depth of Calumny, and Reproach. I say, it is no Marvail (besides that he was naturally to follow such Counsels as were given him) that he could think of no better way, to be freed of these inconveniences, and troubles, the Passions of those Meetings gave him, than to Dissolve them, and prevent their coming together: and that when they seem'd to neglect the publick Peace, out of Animosity to him, he intended his own Ease and Security in the first place, and easily believed, the Publick might be otherwise provided for, by more Intent, and Dispassionate Councils. But that the other, the Lord *Weston*, who had been very much, and very Popularly conversant in those Conventions, who exactly knew the Frame, and Constitution of the Kingdom, the Temper of the People, the Extents of the Courts of Law, and the Jurisdiction of Parliaments, which at that time had seldom, or never committed any Excess of jurisdiction (Modesty and Moderation in words never was, nor ever will be observed in Popular Councils, whose foundation is Liberty of Speech) that He should believe, that the Union, Peace, and Plenty of the Kingdom could be preserved without Parliaments, or that the Passion, and Distemper gotten, and receiv'd into Parliaments, could be removed, and reformed by the more passionate Breaking and Dissolving them; or that That Course would not inevitably prove the most Pernicious to himself, is as much my Wonder, as any thing that hath since happened.

THERE is a Protection very gracious, and juſt, which Princes owe to their Servants, when, in Obedience to their juſt Commands, upon extraordinary and neceſſary Occaſions, in the Execution of their Truſts, they ſwerve from the ſtrict Letter of the Law, which, without that Mercy, would be Penal to them. In any ſuch Caſe, it is as Legal (the Law preſuming it will always be done upon great Reaſon) for the King to Pardon, as for the Party to Accuſe, and the Judge to Condemn. But for the Soveraign Power to interpoſe, and ſhelter an Accuſed Servant from anſwering, do's not only ſeem an obſtruction of Juſtice, and lay an imputation upon the Prince of being privy to the Offence, but leaves ſo great a Scandal upon the Party himſelf, that he is generally concluded Guilty of whatſoever he is charged with; which is commonly more than the Worſt Man ever deſerved. And it is worthy the Obſervation, that, as no Innocent Man who made his Defence, ever Suffer'd in thoſe times by Judgement of Parliament, ſo many Guilty Perſons, and againſt whom the Spirit of the times went as High, by the wiſe managing their defence, have been freed from their Accuſers, not only without Cenſure, but without Reproach; as the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then Lord Keeper, Sr *H. Marten*, and Sr *H. Spiller*; Men, in their ſeveral degrees, as little beholden to the Charity of that time, as any Men ſince. Whereas ſcarce a Man, who, with Induſtry and Skill, laboured to keep himſelf from being Accuſed, or by Power to ſtop or divert the Courſe of Proceeding, ſcaped without ſome Signal Mark of Infamy, or Prejudice. And the Reaſon is clear, for beſides that, after the firſt Storm, there is ſome Compaſſion naturally attends Men like to be in Miſery; and, beſides the latitude of Judging in thoſe places, whereby there is room for Kindneſs and Affection, and collateral Conſiderations to interpoſe; the truth is, thoſe Accuſations (to which this Man contributes his Malice, another his Wit, all Men what they pleaſe, and moſt upon Hear-ſay, with a kind of Uncharitable Delight of making the Charge as Heavy as may be) are commonly ſtuffed with many odious Generals, that the Proofs ſeldom make good: and then a Man is no ſooner found leſs Guilty than he is expected, but he is concluded more Innocent than he is; and it is thought but a juſt Reparation for the Reproach that he deſerved not, to Free him from the Cenſure he deſerved. So that, very probably, thoſe two Noble Perſons had been happy, if they had ſtoutly ſubmitted to the Proceedings were deſigned againſt them; and, without queſtion, it had been of Soveraign Uſe to the King, if, in thoſe Peaceable times, Parliaments had been Taught to know their own Bounds, by being ſuffer'd to Proceed as far as they could go; by which

the Extent of their Power would quickly have been manifested: from whence no Inconvenience of moment could have Proceeded; the House of Commons never then pretending to the least part of Judicature, or exceeding the known Verge of their own Privileges; the House of Peers observing the Rules of the Law and Equity in their Judgements, and proceeding deliberately upon clear Testimony and Evidence of matter of Fact; and the King retaining the sole power of Pardoning, and receiving the whole profit of all Penalties and Judgements; and indeed having so great an influence upon the Body of Peerage, that it was scarce known, that any Person of Honour was severely Censured in that House (before this present Parliament) who was not either immediately prosecuted by the Court, or in evident Disfavour there; by which, it may be (as it usually falls out) some Doors were opened, at which inconveniencies to the Crown have got in, that were not then enough Weighed and Considered.

But the course of exempting Men from prosecution, by dissolving of Parliaments, made the power of Parliaments much more Formidable, as conceived to be without Limit; since the Soveraign Power seem'd to be compelled (as unable otherwise to set bounds to their proceedings) to that rough Cure, and to determine their Beings, because it could not determine their Jurisdiction. Whereas if they had been frequently Summoned, and seasonably Dissolved, after their Wisdom in applying Medicines and Cures, as well as their industry in discovering Diseases, had been discerned, they would easily have been applied to the Uses for which they were first Instituted; and been of no less esteem with the Crown, than of Veneration with the People. And so I shall conclude this Digression, which, I conceived, was not unseasonable for this place, nor upon this occasion, and return to the Time, when that brisk, and improvident Resolution was taken of declining those Conventions; all Men being Inhibited (as I said before they generally took themselves to be) by the Proclamation at the Dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year, so much as to mention or speak as if a Parliament should be called.

The State of the Court about that time.

And here it will give much Light to that which follows, if we take a View of the State of the Court, and of the Council at that time, by which we may best see the face of that time, and the Affections and Temper of the People in general.

The Rise of the Duke of Buckingham.

For the better taking this Prospect, we will begin with a survey of the Person of that great Man, the Duke of *Buckingham* (who was so barbarously Murdered about this time) whose Influence had been Unfortunate in the Publick Affairs, and whose Death produced a Change in all the Counsels.

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The Duke was indeed a very extraordinary Perſon, and never any Man, in any Age, nor, I believe, in any Country, or Nation, roſe, in ſo ſhort a time, to ſo much greatneſs of Honour, Fame, and Fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation, than of the Beauty and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon. I have not the leaſt purpoſe of undervaluing his good Parts and Qualities (of which there will be occaſion ſhortly to give ſome teſtimony) when I ſay, that his firſt introduction into Favour, was purely from the Handſomeneſs of his Perſon.

He was a younger Son of Sr *George Villiers*, of *Brookesby* in the County of *Leiceſter*; a Family of an ancient extraction, even from the time of the Conqueſt, and Tranſported then with the Conqueror out of *Normandy*, where the Family hath ſtill remained, and ſtill continues with Luſtre. After Sr *George*'s firſt Marriage, in which he had two or three Sons, and ſome Daughters, who ſhared an ample Inheritance from him; by a ſecond Marriage with a Lady of the Family of the *Beaumonts*, he had this Gentleman, and two other Sons and a Daughter, who all came afterwards to be raiſed to great Titles and Dignities. *George*, the eldeſt Son of this ſecond bed, was, after the death of his Father, by the ſingular affection and care of his Mother, who enjoyed a good Joynture, in the account of that Age, well brought up; and, for the improvement of his Education, and giving an Ornament to his hopeful Perſon, he was by Her ſent into *France*; where he ſpent two or three Years in attaining the Language, and in Learning the exerciſes of Riding and Dancing; in the laſt of which he excelled Moſt Men, and returned into *England* by the time he was 21 Years old.

King *James* Reigned at that time, and though he was a Prince of more Learning and Knowledge than any other of that Age, and really delighted more in Books, and in the converſation of Learned Men, yet, of all Wiſe Men living, he was the moſt delighted and taken with Handſome Perſons, and Fine Cloaths. He begun to be weary of his Favourite, the Earl of *Somerſet*, who was the only Favourite that kept that Poſt ſo long, without any publick Reproach from the People. But, by the inſtigation and wickedneſs of his Wife, he became, at leaſt, privy to a horrible Murder, that expoſed him to the utmoſt ſeverity of the Law (the Poyſoning of Sr *Thomas Overbury*) upon which both He, and his Wife were condemned to dye, after a Tryal by their Peers, and many Perſons of Quality were Executed for the ſame.

Whilst this was in agitation, and before the utmoſt diſcovery, was made, Mr *Villiers* appeared in Court, and drew the King's eyes upon him. There were enough in the Court

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ſufficiently angry, and incenſed againſt *Somerſet*, for being what themſelves deſired to be, and eſpecially for being a *Scots*-man, and aſcending, in ſo ſhort a time, from being a Page, to the Height he was then at, to contribute all they could to promote the One, that they might throw out the Other: which being eaſily brought to paſs, by the proceeding of the Law upon his aforeſaid Crime, the Other found very little difficulty in rendring himſelf Gracious to the King, whoſe Nature and Diſpoſition was very flowing in affection towards Perſons ſo adorned. Inſomuch that, in few days after his firſt appearance in Court, he was made Cup-bearer to the King, by which he was, of courſe, to be much in his Preſence, and ſo admitted to that converſation and diſcourſe, with which that Prince always abounded at his meals.

His Inclinations to his new Cup-bearer diſpoſed him to adminiſter frequent occaſions of diſcourſing of the Court of *France*, and the Tranſactions there, with which he had been ſo lately acquainted, that he could pertinently enlarge upon that Subject, to the King's great delight, and to the gaining the eſteem and value of all the ſtanders by to Himſelf: which was a thing the King was well pleaſed with. He Acted very few weeks upon this Stage, when he mounted Higher; and, being Knighted, without any other Qualification, he was at the ſame time made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Knight of the Order of the Garter, and in a ſhort time (very ſhort for ſuch a prodigious Aſcent) he was made a Baron, a Viſcount, an Earl, a Marquis, and became Lord high Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Maſter of the Horſe, and entirely diſpoſed of all the Graces of the King, in conferring all the Honours, and all the Offices of the three Kingdoms without a Rival; in diſpenſing whereof, he was guided more by the Rules of Appetite, than of Judgement, and ſo, exalted almoſt all of his own numerous Family, and Dependants; whoſe greateſt Merit was their Alliance to Him; which equally offended the ancient Nobility, and the People of all conditions, who ſaw the Flowers of the Crown every day fading, and wither'd; whilſt the Demeaſnes, and Revenue thereof were Sacrificed to the enriching a Private Family (how well ſoever originally extracted) ſcarce ever heard of before to the Nation, and the expences of the Court ſo vaſt and unlimited, that they had a ſad proſpect of that Poverty, and Neceſſity, which afterwards befel the Crown, almoſt to the Ruin of it.

Many were of opinion, that King *James* before his death, grew weary of this Favourite, and that, if he had lived, he would have deprived him at leaſt of his large, and unlimited Power. And this imagination ſo prevailed with

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ſome Men, as the Lord Keeper *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Middleſex*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and other Gentlemen of Name, though not in ſo high Stations, that they had the Courage to withdraw from their abſolute dependence upon the Duke, and to make ſome other Eſſays, which proved to the Ruin of every one of them; there appearing no mark or evidence, that the King did really leſſen his affection to Him, to the hour of his death. On the contrary, as he Created him Duke of *Buckingham* in his Abſence, whilſt he was with the Prince in *Spain*, ſo, after their Return, the Duke executed the ſame Authority in conferring all Favours and Graces, and in revenging himſelf upon thoſe who had manifeſted any unkindneſs towards him. And yet notwithſtanding all this, if that King's Nature had equally diſpoſed him to pull down, as to build and erect; and if his Courage and Severity in puniſhing and reforming, had been as great, as his Generoſity and Inclination was to oblige, it is not to be doubted, but that he would have withdrawn his affection from the Duke entirely, before his death; which thoſe Perſons who were admitted to any Privacy with him, and were not in the Confidence of the Other (for before Thoſe he knew well how to diſſemble) had reaſon enough to expect.

An account of Prince Charles's Journey into Spain.

For it is certain, that the King was never well pleaſed with the Duke, after the Prince's going into *Spain*; which was infinitely againſt his Will, and contrived wholely by the Duke: Who, out of Envy, that the Earl of *Briſtol* ſhould have the ſole management of ſo great an Affair (as hitherto that Treaty had been wholely Conducted by him in *Spain*, where he was Extraordinary Embaſſadour, and all particulars upon the matter agreed upon) had one day inſinuated to the Prince the common misfortune of Princes, that in ſo Subſtantial a part of their Happineſs in this World, as depended upon their Marriage, Themſelves had never any part, but muſt receive only an account from others of the Nature, and Humour, and Beauty of the Ladys they were to Marry; and thoſe Reports ſeldom proceeded from Perſons totally Uninтereſted, by reaſon of the parts they had acted towards ſuch preparations. From hence he diſcourſed, how gallant and how Brave a thing it would be, for his Highneſs to make a Journey into *Spain*, and to fetch home his Miſtreſs; that it would put an end preſently to all thoſe Formalities, which (though all Subſtantial matters were agreed upon already) according to the Style of that Court, and the ſlow progreſs in all things of Ceremony, might yet retard the Infanta's Voyage into *England* many Months; all which would be in a moment removed by his Highneſſes own Preſence; that it would be

ſuch

such an obligation to the Infanta her self, as she could never enough value or requite, and being a Respect rarely paid by any other Prince, upon the like Addresses, could proceed only from the high Regard and Reverence he had for her Person; that in the great Affair That only remain'd undetermined, and was not entirely yielded to, though under a very Friendly deliberation, which was the Restoring the *Palatinate*, it was very probable, that the King of *Spain* himself might choose, in the instant, to gratify his Personal Interposition, which, in a Treaty with an Embassadour, might be drawn out in length, or attended with Overtures of Recompence by some new Concessions, which would create new Difficulties; However, that the Mediation could not but be frankly undertaken by the Infanta her self, who would ambitiously make it her work to pay a part of her great Debt to the Prince, and that he might, with Her, and by Her, present to his Majesty the entire Peace, and Restitution of his Family; which by no other Human means could be brought to pass.

THESE discourses made so deep impression upon the Mind and Spirit of the Prince (whose Nature was inclined to Adventures) that He was transported with the thought of it, and most impatiently sollicitous to bring it to pass. The greatest difficulty in view was, how they might procure the King's consent, who was very Quick-sighted in discerning difficulties, and raising objections, and very slow in mastering them, and untying the knotts he had made; In a word, he knew not how to wrestle with desperate Contingencies, and so abhorr'd the being entangled in such. This was first to be attempted by the Prince himself, by Communicating it to the King, as his earnest desire and suit, with this circumstance, that Since his doing, or Not doing what he most desired, depended wholely and entirely upon his Majesty's own Approbation and Command, he would vouchsafe to promise Not to Communicate the thing proposed, before he had first taken his Own Resolution; and that this Condition should be first humbly insisted on, before the Substantial Point should be Communicated; and so this approach being first made, the success and prosecution was to be left to the Duke's credit and dexterity. All things being thus concerted between his Highness and the Duke (and this the beginning of an entire Confidence between them, after a long time of declared Jealousy and displeasure on the Prince's part, and Occasion enough administer'd on the Other) they shortly found fit opportunity (and there were seasons when that King was to be approached more hopefully than in others) to make their Address together. His Majesty cheerfully consented

ſented to the Condition, and being well pleaſed that all ſhould depend upon his Will, frankly promiſed, that he would not, in any degree, Communicate to any Perſon the matter, before he had taken, and Communicated to Them his Own Reſolutions.

THE Prince then, upon his knees, declared his Suit and very importunate Requeſt, the Duke ſtanding a long time by, without ſaying a word, while the King diſcourſed the whole matter to the Prince, with leſs Paſſion than they expected, and then looked upon the Duke, as inclined to hear what He would ſay; who ſpoke nothing to the point whether, in prudence, Adviſeable or Not; but enlarged upon the infinite Obligation, his Majeſty would confer upon the Prince, by his yielding to the violent Paſſion his Highneſs was tranſported with; and, after many exalted expreſſions to that purpoſe, concluded, that he doubted, that his Majeſty, refuſing to grant the Prince this his humble Requeſt, would make a deep impreſſion upon his Spirits, and peace of Mind; and that he would, he fear'd, look upon it as the greateſt Misfortune and Affliction, that could befall him in this World. The Prince, then taking the opportunity, from the good Temper he ſaw his Father in, to enlarge upon thoſe two Points, which he knew were moſt Important in the King's own wiſhes and judgement, That this expedient would put a quick end to this Treaty, which could not be continued, after his Arrival in that Court, but that his Marriage muſt preſently enſue, which, he knew well enough, the King did moſt impatiently deſire of all Bleſſings in this World: He ſaid likewiſe, he would undertake (and he could not but be believ'd from the Reaſonableneſs of it) that his Preſence would, in a moment, determine the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate* to his Brother and Siſter; which was the ſecond thing the King longed moſt paſſionately to ſee, before he ſhould leave this World.

The Prince propoſes his Journey to his Father.

THESE diſcourſes, urged with all the Artifice and Addreſs imaginable, ſo far wrought upon, and prevail'd with the King, that, with leſs heſitation than his Nature was accuſtomed to, and much leſs than was agreeable to his great Wiſdom, he gave his approbation, and promiſed that the Prince ſhould make the Journey he was ſo much inclined to. Whether he did not upon the ſuddain comprehend the conſequences, which would naturally attend ſuch a raſh Undertaking, or the leſs conſider'd them, becauſe Proviſions, which muſt be made for ſuch a Journey, both with reference to the Expence and Security of it, would take up much time, and could not be done in ſuch a ſecret way, but that the Counſel it ſelf might be reſumed, when new meaſures ſhould be taken.

King James conſents to it.

taken. But this imagination was too reasonable not to be Foreseen by them, and so they had provided themselves accordingly. And therefore, as soon as they had the King's promise upon the main, they told him, the Security of such a design depended on the Expedition, without which there could be no Secrecy observed or hoped for; That, if it were deferred till such a Fleet could be made ready, and such an Equipage prepared as might be fit for the Prince of *Wales*, so much time would be spent, as would Disappoint the principal Ends of the Journey; if they should send for a Pass to *France*, the Ceremony in asking and granting it, and that which would flow from it, in his passage through that Kingdom, would be, at least, lyable to the same objection of Delay: besides that, according to the mysteries and intrigues of State, such a Pass could not in point of security be reasonably Depended upon; and therefore they had thought of an Expedient, which would avoid all Inconveniencies and Hazards; and that it should be Executed before it should be Suspected; that it had never hitherto been, in the least degree, consulted but between Themselves (which was really true) and therefore, if they now undertook the Journey only with two Servants, who should not know any thing till the moment they were to depart, they might easily pass through *France*, before they should be Miss'd at *White-Hall*; which was not hard to be conceived, and so with the less disquisition was consented to by the King; and the farther Deliberation of what was more to be done both in matter, and manner, and the Nomination of the Persons who should attend Them, and the Time for their departure was deferr'd to the consultation of the next day.

When the King, in his Retirement, and by himself, came to Revolve what had been so loosely Consulted before, as he had a wonderful Sagacity in such Reflections, a thousand Difficulties and Dangers occurr'd to him, and so many Precipices, which could hardly be avoided in such a Journey; besides those considerations, which the violent Affection of a Father to his only Son, suggested to him, he thought how ill an influence it might have on his People, too much disposed to murmur and complain of the least Inadvertency; and that they look'd upon the Prince as the Son of the Kingdom, as well as his Own. He consider'd the Reputation he should lose with all Forreign Princes (especially if any ill Accident should happen) by so much departing from his Dignity in exposing the immediate Heir of the Crown, his only Son, to all the Dangers, and all the Jealousies, which particular Malice, or that fathomless abyss of Reason of State, might prepare and contrive against him; and then, in how

desperate

desperate a condition Himself, and his Kingdoms should remain, if the Prince miscarried by such an unparallel'd weakness of his, contrary to the light of his Understanding, as well as the current of his Affections.

These Reflections were so Terrible to him, that they Robbed him of all Peace and Quiet of Mind; insomuch as when the Prince, and Duke came to him about the Dispatch, he fell into a great Passion with Tears, and told them, that he was Undone, and that it would break his heart, if they pursued their Resolution; that upon a true and dispassionate disquisition he had made with Himself, he was abundantly convinced, that, besides the almost inevitable Hazards of the Prince's Person, with whom his life was bound up, and besides the entire Loss of the affections of his People, which would unavoidably attend this rash action, he foresaw it would ruin the whole design, and irrecoverably Break the Match. For whereas all those particulars, upon which he could positively and of right Insist, were fully Granted (for That, which concern'd the Prince Elector, who had unexcusably and directly against his Advice, incurr'd the Ban of the Empire in an Imperial Dyet, must be wrought off by Mediation and Treaty, could not be insisted on in Justice) nor could *Spain* make any new Demands, all the Overtures they had made being Adjusted; the Prince should no sooner arrive at *Madrid*, than all the Articles of the Treaty should be laid aside, and New matter be proposed, which had not been yet mention'd, and could never be consented to by him; That the Treaty of this Marriage, how well soever received, and how much soever desired by the King, and his Chief Ministers, was, in no degree, acceptable to the *Spanish* Nation in general, and less to the Court of *Rome*, where, though the new Pope seem'd more inclined to grant the Dispensation than his Predecessour had been, it was plain enough, that it proceeded only from the apprehension he had to displease the King of *Spain*, not that he was less averse from the Match, it having been always believed both in *Spain*, and in *Rome*, that this Marriage was to be attended with a full Repeal of all the Penal Laws against the Papists, and a plenary Toleration of the Exercise of that Religion in *England*, which they now saw concluded, without any signal or real Benefit, or Advantage to them. And therefore they might expect, and be confident, that when they had the Person of the Prince of *Wales* in their Hands, the King of *Spain* (though in his own nature and inclinations full of Honour and Justice) would be even Compell'd by his Clergy (who had always a great influence upon the Counsels of that Kingdom) and the Importunities from *Rome*, who would tell him, that God had put it now

into

into his Hand to advance the Catholick Cauſe, to make new Demands for thoſe of that Religion here; which, though he could never conſent to, would, at beſt, interpoſe ſuch delays in the Marriage, that he ſhould never live to ſee it brought to paſs, nor probably to ſee his Return again from *Spain*. Then he put the Duke in mind (whom he hitherto believ'd only to comply with the Prince, to oblige him, after a long alienation from his Favour) how inevitable his Ruin muſt be, by the effect of this Counſel, how Ungracious he was already with the People, and how many Enemies he had, amongſt the greateſt Perſons of the Nobility, who would make ſuch uſe of this occaſion, that it would not be in his Majeſty's Power to Protect him. And then he concluded with the diſorder and Paſſion, with which he begun, with Sighs and Tears, to conjure them, that they would no more preſs him to give his Conſent to a Thing ſo contrary to his Reaſon, and Underſtanding, and Intereſt, the Execution whereof would break his Heart, and that they would give over any further purſuit of it.

THE Prince, and the Duke took not the pains to anſwer any of the Reaſons his Majeſty had inſiſted on; his Highneſs only putting him in mind of the Promiſe he had made to him the day before, which was ſo Sacred, that he hoped he would not Violate it; which if he ſhould, it would make him never more think of Marriage. The Duke, who better knew, what kind of Arguments were of Prevalence with him, Treated him more Rudely; told him, No body could believe any thing he ſaid, when he retracted ſo ſoon the promiſe he ſo ſolemnly made; that he plainly diſcern'd, that it proceeded from another Breach of his Word, in Communicating with ſome Raſcal, who had furniſhed him with thoſe pitiful Reaſons he had alledg'd, and he doubted not but he ſhould hereafter know who his Counſellour had been; That if he receded from what he had promiſed, it would be ſuch a Diſobligation to the Prince, who had ſet his Heart now upon the Journey, after his Majeſty's approbation, that he could never Forget it, nor Forgive any Man who had been the Cauſe of it.

THE Prince, who had always expreſs'd the higheſt Duty and Reverence towards the King, by his humble and importunate Entreaty, and the Duke, by his rougher Dialect, in the end prevail'd ſo far (after his Majeſty had Paſſionately, and with many Oaths renounced the having Communicated the matter with any Perſon living) that the Debate was again reſum'd upon the Journey, which they earneſtly deſired might not be deferr'd, but that they might take their leaves of the King within two days, in which they would have all things

ready

ready that were neceſſary, his Highneſs pretending to Hunt at *Theobalds*, and the Duke to take Phyſick at *Chelſey*.

THEY told him, that being to have only Two more in their Company, as was before reſolv'd, they had thought (if he approv'd them) upon Sr *Francis Cottington*, and *Endymion Porter*, who, though they might ſafely, ſhould not be truſted with the Secret, till they were even ready to be Embarked. The Perſons were both Grateful to the King, the former having been long his Majeſty's Agent in the Court of *Spain*, and was now Secretary to the Prince; the other, having been bred in *Madrid*, after many years attendance upon the Duke, was now one of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince: So that his Majeſty cheerfully approv'd the Election they had made, and wiſh'd it might be preſently imparted to them; ſaying, that many things would occur to them, as neceſſary to the Journey, that they two would never think of; and took that occaſion to ſend for Sr *Francis Cottington* to come preſently to him (whilſt the other remain'd with him) who being, of cuſtom, waiting in the outward Room, was quickly brought in; whilſt the Duke whiſper'd the Prince in the Ear, that *Cottington* would be againſt the Journey, and his Highneſs anſwer'd he Durſt not.

THE King told him, that he had always been an Honeſt Man, and therefore he was now to Truſt him in an Affair of the Higheſt Importance, which he was not, upon his Life, to Diſcloſe to any Man alive; then ſaid to him, *Cottington*, here is Baby *Charles* and *Stenny* (an appellation he always uſed, of and towards the Duke) who have a great mind to go by Poſt into *Spain*, to fetch Home the *Infanta*, and will have but Two more in their Company, and have choſen You for one. What think You of the Journey? (He often proteſted ſince, that, when he heard the King, he fell into ſuch a trembling that he could hardly ſpeak. But when the King Commanded him to anſwer him, what He thought of the Journey) he reply'd that he could not think well of it, and that he believ'd, it would render all that had been done towards the Match, Fruitleſs: for that *Spain* would no longer think themſelves Oblig'd by thoſe Articles, but that, when they had the Prince in their Hands, they would make New Overtures, which they believ'd more Advantageous to them; amongſt which they muſt look for many that would concern Religion, and the Exerciſe of it in *England*. Upon which the King threw himſelf upon his Bed, and ſaid, I told you this before, and fell into new Paſſion, and Lamentation, that he was Undone and ſhould loſe Baby *Charles*.

THERE appear'd Diſpleaſure and Anger enough in the Countenances both of the Prince and Duke; the latter ſaying

that, as ſoon as the King ſent for him, he whiſper'd the Prince in the Ear that he would be againſt it: that he knew his Pride well enough; and that, becauſe he had not been firſt adviſed with, he was reſolv'd to diſlike it; and therefore he reproach'd *Cottington* with all poſſible bitterneſs of words, told him the King asked him only of the Journey, and which would be the beſt Way, of which he might be a competent Counſellor, having made the Way ſo often by Poſt; but that he had the preſumption to give his Advice upon matter of State, and againſt his Maſter, without being call'd to it, which he ſhould repent as long as he liv'd; with a thouſand new Reproaches, which put the poor King into a new Agony, on the behalf of a Servant, who he foreſaw would Suffer for anſwering him Honeſtly. Upon which he ſaid, with ſome commotion, Nay, by God, *Stenny*, you are very much to blame to uſe him ſo; he anſwer'd me directly to the queſtion I asked him, and very Honeſtly and Wiſely: and yet you know he ſaid no more than I told you before he was call'd in. However, after all this Paſſion on both parts, the King yielded; and the Journey was at that Conference agreed on, and all directions given accordingly to Sr *Francis Cottington*; the King having now plainly diſcover'd, that the whole Intrigue was originally Contriv'd by the Duke, and ſo violently Purſu'd by his Spirit and Impetuoſity.

THE manner, circumſtances, and concluſion of that Voyage, with the extraordinary Accidents that happen'd in it, will no doubt be at large remember'd by whoſoever ſhall have the Courage to write the Tranſactions of that time, with that Integrity he ought to do: in which it will manifeſtly appear, how much of the Prophet was in the Wiſdom of the King; and that That deſign'd Marriage, which had been ſo many years in Treaty, even from the Death of Prince *Harry*, and ſo near concluded, was ſolely broken by that Journey; which, with the paſſages before mention'd, King *James* never Forgave the Duke of *Buckingham*; but retain'd as ſharp a Memory of it, as His Nature could contain.

THIS Indiſpoſition of the King towards the Duke was exceedingly encreaſed, and aggravated, upon and after the Prince's return out of *Spain*. For though it brought infinite Joy and Delight to his Majeſty, which he expreſs'd in all imaginable Tranſport, and was the argument of the loudeſt, and moſt univerſal Rejoycing over the whole Kingdom, that the Nation had ever been acquainted with; in which the Duke had ſo full a Harveſt, that the Imprudence, and Preſumption (to ſay no more) of carrying the Prince into *Spain* was totally forgotten, or not remember'd, with any Reference to him, and the high Merit and ineſtimable Obligation, in bringing him

Home,

Home, was Remember'd, Magnified, and Celebrated by all Men in all Places; yet the King was wonderfully disquieted, when he found (which he had not, before their Return, suspected) that the Prince was totally Aliened from all thoughts of, or inclination to the Marriage, and that they were resolv'd to break it with, or without his approbation, or consent. And in This the Duke resum'd the same impetuosity he had so much indulg'd to Himself in the Debate of the Journey into *Spain*.

A Parliament is call'd after the Prince's Return.

The King had, upon the Prince's Return, issued out Writs to call a Parliament, which was in the 21st year of his Reign, thinking it necessary, with relation to the perplexities he was in, for the breach of this Match with *Spain* (which he foresaw must ensue) and the sad Condition of his Only Daughter in *Germany*, with her numerous Issue, to receive their grave Advice. By the time the Parliament could meet, the Prince's entire Confidence being reposed still in the Duke, as the King's seem'd to be, the Duke had wrought himself into the very great Esteem and Confidence of the principal Members of both Houses of Parliament, who were most like to be the Leading men, and had all a desire to have as much Reputation in the Court, as they had in the Country. It was very reasonably thought necessary, that as the King would, at the opening of the Parliament, make mention of the Treaty with *Spain*, and more at large of his Daughter's being driven out of the *Palatinate*, which would require their Assistance and Aid; so that the Prince and Duke should afterwards, to one or both Houses, as occasion should be offer'd, make a Relation of what had pass'd in *Spain*, especially concerning the *Palatinate*: that so the Houses being put into some Method and Order of their future Debate, they might be more easily regulated, than if they were in the beginning left to that Liberty, which they naturally affected, and from which they would not be restrain'd, but in such a manner, as would be grateful to Themselves.

Things being thus concerted, after the Houses had been three or four days together (for, in that time, some days were always spent in the formality of naming Committees, and providing for common Occurrences; before they made an entrance upon more solemn Debates) the Prince began to speak of the *Spanish* Affairs, and of his own Journey thither, and forgot not to mention the Duke with more than ordinary Affection. Whereupon it was thought fit, that the whole Affair, which was likewise to be the principal Subject Matter of all their Consultations, should be stated and enlarged upon, in a Conference between the two Houses, which his Highness and the Duke were desired to manage. How little notice soever any body else could take of the Change, the Duke himself too

well knew the hearty resentment the King had of what had pass'd, and the Affection he still had for the *Spanish* Treaty: and therefore he had done, and resolv'd still to do, all he could, to make himself grateful to the Parliament; and Popular amongst the People; who, he knew, had always detested the Match with *Spain*, or in truth any Alliance with that Nation.

The Prince's and Duke's Account of the Journey at a Conference between both Houses.

So when, at the Conference, the Prince had made a short Introduction to the business, and said some very kind things of the Duke, of his wonderful Care of him, whilst he was in *Spain*, and the great Dexterity he used in getting him away; he referr'd the whole Relation to Him: Who said, "That "the true Ground of the Prince's Journey into *Spain*, which, "he well knew, had begot such a terrible panting in the Hearts "of all good *English*-men, had been only to make a clear dis- "covery of the Sincerity of the *Spaniard*, and, if his inten- "tions were real, to put a speedy End to it by Marrying of the "Lady upon the place; if he found it otherwise, to put his "Father, and Himself at liberty to dispose of Himself in some "other place. That the Embassadour in whose hands that great "Affair was solely managed, when, in one Dispatch, he writ "that all was concluded, in the next, used to give an ac- "count of new Difficulties, and new Demands; And, when "all things were Adjusted at *Madrid*, some unexpected Scru- "ples discover'd themselves at *Rome*, with which the Coun- "cils in *Spain* seem'd to be surpriz'd, and appear'd to be con- "founded, and not to know what to say. These Ebbs and "Floods made the Prince apprehend, that the purpose was to "amuse Us, whilst They had other Designs in secret Agita- "tion. And thereupon, that his Highness had prevail'd with "his Father (how unwilling soever) to permit him to make "the Journey, that he might make that useful Discovery, "which could not otherwise be made in any seasonable time.

"That they no sooner came to *Madrid*, than they dis- "cover'd (though the Prince was treated with all the respect "due to his Greatness, and the Obligation he had laid upon "that Nation) that there had never been any real purpose "that the *Infanta* should be given to Him: That, during so "long an abode, as his Highness made there, they had never "procur'd the Dispensation from *Rome*; which they might "easily have done: And that at last, upon the death of the "Pope, *Gregory* the 15th, the whole Process was to begin "again, and would be transacted with the Formalities, which "they should find necessary to their other Affairs. That, in- "stead of Proceeding upon the Articles, which had been pre- "tended to be concluded, they urged nothing but New De- "mands; and, in matters of Religion, so Peremptorily, that "the principal Clergy-men, and the most Eminent of that

"King's

"King's Preachers, had frequent Conferences with the Prince, "to perſwade him to change his Religion, and become a Pa- "piſt. And, in order to move him the more ſucceſsfully "thereunto, they procured the Pope to write a Letter himſelf "to his Highneſs, putting him in mind of the Religion of his "Anceſtours, and Progenitours, and conjuring him to Return "to the ſame Faith; but that it had pleaſed God not only to "give the Prince a conſtant, and unſhaken Heart in his Reli- "gion, but ſuch wonderful abilities to Defend the ſame in "his Diſcourſe, and Arguments, that they ſtood amazed to "Hear him, and upon the matter confeſs'd that they were not "able to Anſwer him.

"THAT they would not ſuffer the Prince to confer with, "or ſo much as to ſpeak to, hardly, and very rarely to ſee his "Miſtreſs, whom they pretended he ſhould forthwith marry. "That they could never obtain any better anſwer in the bu- "ſineſs of the *Palatinate*, than that the Reſtoring it was not "in the power of that King, though it had been taken by the "ſole power of *Spain*, and the *Spaniſh* Army, under the Com- "mand of the Marquis *Spinola*, who was then in the entire "Poſſeſſion of it; but that his Catholick Majeſty would uſe "his Interpoſition, with all the credit he had with the Em- "perour and Duke of *Bavaria*, without whoſe joynt con- "ſent it could not be done, and whoſe conſent he hoped to "obtain; but that He was well aſſured, that there was no "more real intention in that point of Reſtitution, than in "the other of Marriage; and that the *Palatinate* could not "be hoped to be recovered any other way than by force, "which would eaſily bring it to paſs.

THROUGHOUT his whole diſcourſe he made frequent Reflections upon the Earl of *Briſtol*, as if he very well knew the *Spaniards* purpoſes in the whole, and concurr'd with them in it. "That he was ſo much troubled, when he firſt ſaw "the Prince, who alighted at his Houſe, that he could not "contain himſelf, but wiſh'd that his Highneſs were at Home "again: That he had afterwards, when he found that his "Highneſs liked the *Infanta*, perſwaded him in private that "he would become a Papiſt; and that, without changing "his Religion, it would not be poſſible ever to compaſs that "Marriage.

HE told them, "That the King had ſent for the Earl to "return Home, where he ſhould be call'd to account for "all his Miſcarriages. Whereas in truth the King had re- call'd him rather to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke than to ex- poſe him to his Malice, and Fury; his Majeſty having a great eſteem of that Earl's Fidelity to him, and of his great Abilities.

The Parliaments Resolution upon it to declare a war with Spain.

THE Conference ended in a wonderful Applauſe in both Houſes, of the Prince and Duke's behaviour, and carriage throughout the Affair, and in a haſty Reſolution to Diſſwade the King from entertaining any farther motions towards the Match, and frankly and reſolutely to enter into a War with *Spain*; towards the carrying on of which they raiſed great mountains of Promiſes, and, prevailing in the Firſt, never remember'd to make good the Latter; which too often falls out in ſuch Counſels.

King Jame's *Perplexities, and Diſpleaſure againſt the Duke upon That occaſion.*

WHEN King *James* was inform'd of what the Duke had ſo confidently avow'd, for which he had not authority, or the leaſt direction from Him; and a great part whereof himſelf knew to be untrue; and that he had adviſed an utter Breach of the Treaty, and to enter upon a War with *Spain*, he was infinitely offended; ſo that he wanted only a reſolute and brisk Counſellor, to aſſiſt him in deſtroying the Duke: and ſuch a one he promiſed himſelf in the arrival of the Earl of *Briſtol*, whom he expected every day.

The Earl of Middleſex *his Riſe, and Fall.*

HIS Majeſty had another Exception againſt the Duke, which touch'd him as near, and in which he enlarged himſelf much more. *Lionel Cranfeild*, who (though extracted from a Gentlemans Family) had been bred in the City, and, being a Man of great Wit and Underſtanding in all the myſteries of Trade, had found means to work himſelf into the good opinion and favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and, having ſhortly after Married a near Relation of the Duke's with wonderful expedition was made a Privy-Counſellor, Maſter of the Wardrobe, Maſter of the Wards, and, without parting with any of theſe, was now become Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, and Earl of *Middleſex*, and had gain'd ſo much Credit with the King (being in truth a Man of great parts and notable dexterity) that, during the Duke's abſence in *Spain*, he was not only negligent in the iſſuing out ſuch ſums of Money, as were neceſſary for the defraying thoſe unlimited Expences, and to correſpond with Him with that Deference he had uſed to do, but had the Courage to diſpute His commands, and to Appeal to the King, whoſe Ear was always inclined to him, and in Whom he begun to believe himſelf ſo far faſtened, that he ſhould not ſtand in need of the future Support of the Favourite. And of all this the Duke could not be without ample information, as well from his own Creatures, who were near enough to obſerve; as from others, who, caring for Neither of them, were more ſcandaliz'd at ſo precipitate a Promotion of a Perſon of ſuch an Education, and whom they had long known ſo Much their Inferiour, though it could not be denied that he Fill'd the Places he held with great Abitities.

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THE Duke no ſooner found the Parliament diſpoſed to a good opinion of him, and being well aſſured of the Prince's faſt kindneſs, than he projected the Ruin of this bold Rival of his, of whom he ſaw clearly enough that the King had ſo good an opinion, that it would not be in his ſole Power to cruſh Him, as he had done others, in the ſame, and as high a Station. And ſo he eaſily procured ſome Leading Men in the Houſe of Commons, to cauſe an Impeachment for ſeveral Corruptions, and Miſdemeanours, to be ſent up to the Houſe of Peers againſt that great Miniſter, whom they had ſo lately known their Equal in that Houſe; which (beſides their natural Inclination to that kind of Correction) diſpoſed Them with great alacrity to this Proſecution. The wiſe King knew well enough the ill Conſequence, that muſt attend Such an activity; and that it would ſhake his Own Authority in the Choice of his Own Miniſters, when they ſhould find, that their Security did not depend ſolely upon his Own Protection: Which Breach upon his Kingly Power was ſo much without a Precedent (except one unhappy one made three Years before, to gratify likewiſe a private diſpleaſure) that the like had not been practiſed in very many Years.

WHEN this proſecution was firſt enter'd upon, and that the King clearly diſcern'd it was contriv'd by the Duke, and that he had likewiſe prevail'd with the Prince to be well pleas'd with it; his Majeſty ſent for them, and with much warmth and paſſion, diſſwaded them from appearing Farther in it; and conjur'd them "to uſe all their Intereſt and Authority "to reſtrain it, as ſuch a Wound to the Crown, that would "not be eaſily healed. And when he found the Duke unmov'd by all the conſiderations, and arguments, and commands, he had offer'd, he ſaid, in great Choler, "By God, "*Stenny*, you are a Fool, and will ſhortly repent this folly, "and will find, that, in this fit of Popularity, you are making "a Rod, with which you will be ſcourged your Self: And turning in ſome anger to the Prince, told him, "That he "would live to have his belly full of Parliament Impeach-"ments: and, when I ſhall be dead, you will have too "much cauſe to remember, how much You have contributed "to the Weakning of the Crown, by the two Precedents "you are Now ſo Fond of; intending as well the Engaging the Parliament in the War, as the proſecution of the Earl of *Middleſex*.

BUT the Duke's power (ſupported by the Prince's countenance) was grown ſo great in the two Houſes, that it was in vain for the King to interpoſe; and ſo (notwithſtanding ſo good a Defence made by the Earl, that he was abſolv'd from any notorious Crime, by the impartial opinion of many

of thoſe who heard all the Evidence) he was at laſt condemn'd in a great Fine, to a long and ſtrict Impriſonment, and never to ſit in Parliament during his Life: a clauſe of ſuch a nature as was never before found in any Judgment of Parliament, and, in truth, not to be inflicted upon any Peer but by Attainder.

How much alienated ſoever the King's Affection was in truth from the Duke, upon theſe three Provocations; (1) The Princes Journey into *Spain*; (2) the Engaging the Parliament to break the Match, and Treaty with *Spain*, and to make a War againſt that Crown; and (3) The Sacrificing the Earl of *Middleſex* in ſuch a manner, upon his Own animoſity; yet he was ſo far from thinking fit to manifeſt it (except in whiſpers to very few men) that he was prevail'd with to reſtrain the Earl of *Briſtol* upon his firſt arrival, without permitting him to come into his Preſence, which he had poſitively promiſed, and reſolv'd to do; and in the end ſuffer'd his Attorney General to exhibit a charge of High Treaſon, in his Majeſty's name, againſt the ſaid Earl, who was thereupon committed to the Tower; but ſo little dejected with it, that he anſwer'd the Articles with great ſteddyneſs and unconcernedneſs, and exhibited another charge of High Treaſon againſt the Duke, in many particulars.

The Earl of Briſtol *accuſed in Parliament.*

Accuſes the Duke.

And in this Order and Method the War was haſtily entred into againſt *Spain*, and a new Treaty ſet on foot for the Prince of *Wales* with the Daughter of *France*; which was quickly Concluded, though not fully Compleated till after the death of King *James*; who, in the Spring following, after a ſhort indiſpoſition by the Gout, fell into an Ague, which meeting many humours in a fat, unweildy body of 58 years old, in four or five Fits, carryed him out of the world. After whoſe death many ſcandalous, and libellous Diſcourſes were raiſed, without the leaſt colour, or ground: as appear'd upon the ſtricteſt, and moſt malicious Examination that could be made, long after, in a time of Licence, when no body was afraid of offending Majeſty, and when proſecuting the higheſt Reproaches, and Contumelies againſt the Royal Family, was held very meritorious.

K. James *dies.*

Upon the death of King *James*, *Charles* Prince of *Wales* ſucceeded to the Crown, with as univerſal a Joy in the People, as can be imagin'd, and in a Conjuncture, when all the other Parts of *Chriſtendom*, being engaged in War, were very ſollicitous for his Friendſhip; and the more, becauſe he had already diſcover'd an Activity, that was not like to ſuffer him to ſit ſtill. The Duke continued in the ſame degree of Favour at the leaſt, with the Son, which he enjoyed ſo many years under the Father. A rare felicity! ſeldom known, and

Prince Charles *ſucceeds him, the Duke continuing in Favour.*

in which the expectation of very many was exceedingly disappointed; who, knowing the great jealousy and indignation, that the Prince had heretofore conceiv'd against the Duke, for having been once very near Striking him, expected that he would Now remember that Insolence, of which he Then so often complain'd; without considering the opportunity the Duke had, by the conversation with the Prince, during his Journey into *Spain* (which was so grateful to him) and whilst he was there, to wipe out the memory of all former Oversights, by making them appear to be of a less magnitude than they had been understood before, and to be excusable from other causes, still being severe enough to himself for his Unwary part, whatsoever excuses he might make for the Excess: and by this means to make new Vows for himself, and to tie new Knots to restrain the Prince from future jealousies. And it is very true, his hopes in this kind never fail'd him; the new King from the death of the old, even to the death of the Duke himself, discovering the most entire Confidence in, and even Friendship to Him, that ever King had shew'd to any Subject: all Preferments in Church and State given by Him; all his Kindred, and Friends promoted to the degree in Honour, or Riches, or Offices, that He thought fit, and all his Enemies and Envyers discountenanced, as He appointed.

King Charles's First Parliament call'd.

BUT a Parliament was necessary to be call'd, as at the entrance of all Kings to the Crown, for the continuance of some Supplies and Revenue to the King, which have been still used to be granted in that season. And now he quickly found how Prophetick the last King's Predictions had proved, and were like to prove. The Parliament that had so rashly advanced the War, and so passionately adhered to his Person, was now no more; and though the House of Peers consisted still of the same men, and most of the principal men of the House of Commons were again elected to serve in this Parliament, yet they were far from wedding the War, or taking themselves to be concern'd to make good any Declaration made by the former: So that though the War was entred in, all hope of obtaining money to carry it On was even desperate; and the affection they had for the Duke, and confidence in him, was not Then so manifest, as the Prejudice they had Now, and animosity against him, was visible to all the world: All the Actions of his life ripp'd up, and survey'd, and all malicious Glosses, made upon all he had said, and all he had done: Votes and Remonstrances pass'd against him as an Enemy to the Publick; and his ill Management made the ground of the Refusal to give the King that Supply he had reason to expect, and was absolutely necessary to the state he was in. And this kind of treatment was so ill suited to the Duke's great

great Spirit, which indeed might have eaſily been Bowed, but could very hardly be Broken, that it wrought contrary effects upon his high mind, and his Indignation, to find himſelf ſo uſed by the ſame Men. For they who flatter'd him moſt Before, mention'd him now with the greateſt bitterneſs and acrimony; and the ſame Men who had call'd him *our Saviour*, for bringing the Prince ſafe out of *Spain*, call'd him now the Corrupter of the King, and betrayer of the Liberties of the People, without imputing the leaſt crime to him, to have been committed ſince the time of that exalted Adulation, or that was not then as much known to them, as it could be now: ſo fluctuating and unſteady a teſtimony is the Applauſe of popular Councils.

That Parliament and the next, Diſſolv'd on account of the Duke.

THIS indignation, I ſay, ſo tranſported the Duke, that he thought neceſſary to publiſh and manifeſt a greater contempt of them, then he ſhould have done; cauſing this and the next Parliament to be quickly Diſſolv'd, as ſoon as they ſeem'd to entertain Counſels not grateful to him, and before he could well determine, and judge, what their Tempers was in truth like to prove: and, upon every Diſſolution, ſuch as had given any Offence, were Impriſon'd, or Diſgraced; new Projects were every day ſet on foot for Money, which ſerv'd only to offend, and incenſe the People, and brought little ſupplies to the King's occaſions; yet raiſed a great ſtock for expoſtulation, murmur, and complaint, to be expoſed when other Supplies ſhould be required. And many Perſons, of the beſt quality and condition under the Peerage, were committed to ſeveral Priſons, with circumſtances unuſual and unheard of, for refuſing to pay Money required by thoſe extraordinary ways; and the Duke himſelf would paſſionately ſay, and frequently do many things; which only griev'd his Friends, and incenſed his Enemies, and gave them as well the ability, as the inclination to do him much harm.

A War declar'd with France.

IN this fatal Conjuncture, and after many ſeveral coſtly Embaſſies into *France*, in the laſt of which the Duke himſelf went, and brought triumphantly home with him the Queen to the joy of the Nation; in a time, when all endeavours ſhould have been uſed to have extinguiſh'd that War, in which the King was ſo unhappily engaged againſt *Spain*, a new War was as precipitately declared againſt *France*, and the Fleet, that had been unwarily deſign'd to have ſurpriſed *Cales*, under a General very unequal to that great work, was no ſooner return'd without ſucceſs, and with much damage, than it was repair'd, and the Army reinforced for the Invaſion of *France*; in which the Duke was General himſelf, and made that unfortunate Deſcent upon the Iſle of *Ree*, which was quickly afterwards attended with many unproſperous Attempts, and

then

then with a miſerable Retreat; in which the Flower of the Army was loſt. So that how ill ſoever *Spain* and *France* were inclined to each other, they were both bitter Enemies to *England*; whilſt *England* it ſelf was ſo totally taken up with the thought of Revenge upon the Perſon who they thought had been the cauſe of their diſtreſs, that they never conſider'd, that the ſad Effects of it (if not inſtantly provided againſt) muſt inevitably deſtroy the Kingdom: and gave no truce to their Rage, till the Duke finiſh'd his courſe, by a wicked Aſſaſſination in the fourth year of the King, and the thirty ſixth of his Age.

The Aſſaſſination of the Duke of Buckingham.

JOHN *Felton*, an obſcure man in his own perſon, who had been bred a Soldier, and lately a Lieutenant of a Foot Company, whoſe Captain had been kill'd upon the Retreat at the Iſle of *Ree*, upon which he conceiv'd that the Company of right ought to have been conferr'd upon Him, and it being refuſed to him by the Duke of *Buckingham* General of the Army, had given up his Commiſſion of Lieutenant, and withdrawn himſelf from the Army. He was of a melancholick nature, and had little converſation with any body, yet of a Gentleman's family in *Suffolk*, of good fortune and reputation. From the time that he had quitted the Army, he reſided in *London*; when the Houſe of Commons, tranſported with Paſſion and Prejudice againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, had accuſed him to the Houſe of Peers for ſeveral Miſdemeanours, and Miſcarriages, and in ſome Declaration had ſtyled him "the cauſe of all the Evils the Kingdom ſuffer'd, and an Ene-"my to the Publick.

SOME Tranſcripts of ſuch Expreſſions (for the late Licence of Printing all mutinous and ſeditious Diſcourſes was not yet in faſhion) and ſome general Invectives he met with amongſt the People, to whom that great Man was not grateful, wrought ſo far upon this melancholick Gentleman, that by degrees, and (as he ſaid upon ſome of his Examinations) by frequently hearing ſome popular Preachers in the City (who yet were not arrived at the Preſumption and Impudence, they have been ſince tranſported with) he believ'd he ſhould do God good ſervice, if he kill'd the Duke; which he ſhortly after reſolv'd to do. He choſe no other inſtrument to do it with, than an ordinary Knife, which he bought of a common Cutler for a Shilling: and thus provided he repair'd to *Portſmouth*, where he arrived the Eve of St *Bartholomew*. The Duke was then there, in order to Prepare and make Ready the Fleet, and the Army, with which he reſolv'd in few days to tranſport himſelf to the Relief of *Rochel*, which was then ſtraitly beſieged by the Cardinal *Richelieu*; and for the Relief whereof the Duke was the more oblig'd, by reaſon that, at

his

his being at the Isle of *Ree*, he had receiv'd great Supplies of Victuals, and some Companys of their Garrison from that Town, the want of both which they were at this time very sensible of, and griev'd at.

THIS morning of St *Bartholomew* the Duke had receiv'd Letters, in which he was advertised that *Rochel* had Reliev'd it self; upon which he directed that his Break-fast might speedily be made ready, and he would make hast to acquaint the King with the good news, the Court being then at *Southwick*, the House of Sr *Daniel Norton*, five miles from *Portsmouth*. The Chamber wherein he was dressing himself, was full of company, of Persons of Quality, and Officers of the Fleet and Army.

THERE was Monsieur *de Soubize* Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, and other *French* Gentlemen, who were very sollicitous for the Embarcation of the Army, and for the departure of the Fleet for the Relief of *Rochel*: and they were at that time in much trouble and perplexity, out of apprehension that the news the Duke had receiv'd that Morning might slacken the preparations for the Voyage, which their Impatience, and Interest perswaded them were not advanced with expedition; and so they had held much discourse with the Duke of the impossibility that his Intelligence could be true, and that it was contrived by the artifice and dexterity of their Enemies, in order to abate the warmth and zeal that was used for their Relief, the arrival of which Relief those Enemies had so much reason to apprehend; and a longer Delay in sending it would ease them of that terrible apprehension, their Forts and Works towards the Sea, and in the Harbour, being almost finish'd.

THIS discourse, according to the natural custom of that Nation, and by the usual Dialect of that Language, was held with that Passion, and Vehemence, that the standers by, who understood not *French*, did believe that they were angry, and that they used the Duke rudely. He being ready, and inform'd that his Break-fast was ready, drew towards the door, where the hangings were held up; and, in that very Passage, turning himself to speak with Sr *Thomas Fryar*, a Colonel of the Army, who was then speaking near his ear, he was on the suddain Struck over his shoulder upon the Breast with a Knife; upon which, without using any other words, but, *The Villain hath kill'd me*; and in the same moment pulling out the Knife himself, he fell down dead, the Knife having pierced his Heart.

NO man had seen the Blow, or the Man who gave it, but in the confusion they were in, every man made his own conjecture, and declared it as a thing known; most agreeing

that

that it was done by the *French*, from the angry discourse they thought they had heard from them. And it was a kind of a Miracle, that they were not all kill'd in that instant; the Sober sort, that preserv'd them from it, having the same Opinion of their Guilt, and only reserving them for a more Judicial Examination and Proceeding.

In the Crowd, near the door, there was found upon the ground a Hat, in the inside whereof there was sow'd upon the crown a Paper, in which were writ four or five lines of that Declaration made by the House of Commons, in which they had styl'd the Duke an Enemy to the Kingdom; and under it a short Ejaculation or two towards a Prayer. It was easily enough concluded that the Hat belonged to the Person who had committed the Murther: but the difficulty remain'd still as great, Who that Person should be; for the writing discover'd nothing of the Name, and whosoever it was, it was very natural to believe, that he was gone far enough, not to be found without a Hat.

In this Hurry, one running one way, another another way, a Man was seen walking before the door very composedly without a Hat; whereupon one crying out, *Here is the Fellow that kill'd the Duke*; upon which others run thither, every body asking, *Which is He? Which is He?* to which the Man without the Hat very composedly answer'd, *I am He.* Thereupon some of those who were most Furious, suddainly ran upon the Man with their drawn Swords to kill him; but others, who were at least equally concern'd in the Loss, and in the Sense of it, defended him; Himself with open Arms very calmly and chearfully exposing Himself to the Fury and Swords of the most enraged, as being very willing to fall a Sacrifice to their suddain Anger, rather than to be kept for that deliberate Justice, which he knew must be executed upon him.

He was now known enough, and easily discover'd to be that *Felton*, whom we mention'd before, who had been a Lieutenant in the Army: He was quickly carry'd into a private Room by the Persons of the best Condition, some whereof were in Authority, who first thought fit so far to dissemble, as to mention the Duke only grievously Wounded, but not without hope of Recovery. Upon which *Felton* smiled, and said, he knew well enough he had given him a Blow that had Determin'd all their Hopes. Being then ask'd (which was the discovery principally aim'd at) by whose Instigation he had perform'd that horrid and wicked Act; he answer'd them with a wonderful assurance, "That they should not trouble "themselves in that Enquiry; that no Man living had credit "or power enough with him to have engaged, or disposed

"him

"him to such an action, that he had never intrusted his pur-
"pose and resolution to any Man; that it proceeded only
"from Himself, and the impulse of his own Conscience; and
"that the Motives thereunto would appear, if his Hat were
"found, in which he had therefore fixed them, because he
"believ'd it very probable that he might perish in the Attempt.
"He confess'd that he had come to the Town but the night
"before, and had kept his Lodging, that he might not be seen,
"or taken notice of: and that he had come that Morning to
"the Duke's Lodging, where he had waited at the door for
"his coming out; and when he found, by the motions
"within, that he was coming, he drew to the door, as if he
"held up the hanging; and Sr *Thomas Fryar* speaking with
"the Duke, as hath been said, and being of a much lower
"stature than the Duke, who a little inclined towards him,
"he took the opportunity of giving the Blow over his
"shoulders.

He spoke very frankly of what he had done, and bore the reproaches of those who spoke to him, with the temper of a Man who thought he had not done amiss. But after he had been in Prison some time, where he was treated without any rigour, and with humanity enough; and before, and at his Trial, which was about four Months after, at the King's Bench Bar, he behaved himself with great Modesty and wonderful Repentance; being, as he said, convinced in his Conscience, that he had done Wickedly, and ask'd the pardon of the King, and Duchess, and of all the Duke's Servants, whom he acknowleg'd to have offended; and very earnestly besought the Judges that he might have his Hand struck off, with which he had perform'd that impious Act, before he should be put to death.

The King's receiving the news of the Duke's death.

The Court was too near *Portsmouth*, and too many Courtiers upon the place, to have this Murther (so Barbarous in the nature and circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in *England* many Ages) long conceal'd from the King. His Majesty was at the publick Prayers of the Church, when Sr *John Hippesly* came into the Room, with a troubled Countenance, and without any pause, in respect of the Exercise they were performing, went directly to the King, and whisper'd in his ear what had fall'n out. His Majesty continu'd unmov'd, and without the least change in his Countenance, till Prayers were ended; when he suddainly departed to his Chamber, and threw himself upon his Bed, lamenting with much passion, and with abundance of tears, the Loss he had of an excellent Servant, and the horrid manner in which he had been depriv'd of him: and he continued in this melancholick discomposure of mind many days.

Yet

YET his manner of receiving the news in publick, when it was firſt brought him in the preſence of ſo many (who knew or ſaw nothing of the paſſion he expreſs'd upon his retreat) made many men believe, that the accident was not very ungrateful; at leaſt, that it was very indifferent to him; as being rid of a Servant very ungracious to the People, and the prejudice of whoſe Perſon exceedingly obſtructed all overtures made in Parliament for his ſervice.

AND, upon this obſervation, Perſons of all conditions took great licence in ſpeaking of the perſon of the Duke, and diſſecting all his infirmities, believing they ſhould not thereby incur any diſpleaſure of the King's. In which they took very ill meaſures; for from that time almoſt to the time of his own death, the King admitted very few into any degree of truſt, who had ever diſcover'd themſelves to be Enemies to the Duke, or againſt whom he had manifeſted a notable prejudice. And ſure never any Prince expreſs'd a more lively regret for the Loſs of a Servant, than his Majeſty did for this great Man, in his conſtant favour and kindneſs to his Wife and Children; in all offices of grace towards his Servants; and in a wonderful ſollicitous care for the Payment of his Debts; which, it is very true, were Contracted for his Majeſty's Service; though in ſuch a manner, that there remain'd no evidence of it, nor were any of the Duke's Officers intruſted with the knowledge of it, nor any record kept of it, but in the King's own generous memory.

A Character of the Duke.

THIS great man was a Perſon of a Noble nature, and Generous diſpoſition, and of ſuch other Endowments, as made him very capable of being a great Favourite to a great King. He underſtood the Arts of a Court; and all the Learning that is profeſs'd There, exactly well. By long practice in buſineſs, under a Maſter that diſcourſed excellently, and ſurely knew all things wonderfully, and took much delight in Indoctrinating his young unexperienced Favourite, who, he knew, would be always look'd upon as the Workmanſhip of his Own hands, He had obtain'd a quick conception, and apprehenſion of Buſineſs, and had the habit of Speaking very gracefully, and pertinently. He was of a moſt flowing Courteſy and Affability to all men who made any addreſs to him; and ſo deſirous to Oblige them, that he did not enough conſider the Value of the obligation, or the Merit of the perſon he choſe to oblige; from which, much of his Misfortune reſulted. He was of a Courage not to be daunted, which was manifeſted *in all* his Actions, and in his Conteſts with particular perſons of the greateſt reputation; and eſpecially in his whole demeanour at the Iſle of *Ree*, both at the Landing, and upon the Retreat; in both which no man was more fearleſs, or more

ready

ready to expoſe himſelf to the higheſt dangers. His Kindneſs, and Affection to his Friends was ſo vehement, that they were as ſo many marriages for better and worſe, and ſo many leagues offenſive and defenſive; as if he thought himſelf obliged to love all his Friends, and to make war upon all They were angry with, let the cauſe be what it would. And it cannot be denied, that he was an Enemy in the ſame exceſs; and proſecuted thoſe he look'd upon as his Enemies, with the utmoſt rigour and animoſity; and was not eaſily induced to reconciliation. And yet there were ſome examples of his receding in that particular. And when he was in the higheſt paſſion, he was ſo far from ſtooping to any Diſſimulation, whereby his diſpleaſure might be conceal'd and cover'd, till he had attain'd his revenge (the low method of Courts) that he never endeavour'd to do any man an ill office, before he firſt told him what he was to expect from him, and reproach'd him with the injuries he had done, with ſo much generoſity, that the perſon found it in his power to receive further ſatisfaction, in the way he would chooſe for himſelf.

In this manner he proceeded with the Earl of *Oxford*, a man of great Name in that time, and whom he had endeavour'd by many civil offices to make his Friend, and who ſeem'd equally to incline to the Friendſhip: when he diſcover'd (or, as many thought, but ſuſpected) that the Earl was enter'd into ſome Cabal in Parliament againſt him; he could not be diſſwaded by any of his Friends, to whom he imparted his reſolution, but meeting the Earl the next day, he took him aſide, and after many reproaches for ſuch and ſuch ill offices, he had done him, and for breaking his Word towards him, he told him, "he would rely no longer on His "Friendſhip, nor ſhould He expect any further Friendſhip "from him, but on the contrary, he would be for ever his "Enemy, and do him all the miſchief he could. The Earl, (who, as many thought, had not been Faulty towards him, was as Great-hearted as He, and thought the very Suſpecting him to be an injury Unpardonable) without any reply to the particulars, declar'd "that he neither cared for his Friend-"ſhip, nor fear'd his Hatred; and from thence avowedly enter'd into the converſation, and confidence of Thoſe who were always awake to Diſcover, and ſollicitous to Purſue any thing that might prove to his Diſadvantage; which was of Evil conſequence to the Duke; the Earl being of the moſt Ancient of the Nobility, and a man of great Courage, and of a Family which had in no time ſwerv'd from its Fidelity to the Crown.

Sr Francis *Cottington*, who was Secretary to the Prince, and not grown Courtier enough to diſſemble his opinion,

had

had given the Duke Offence, before his Journey into *Spain*, as is before touch'd upon, and improv'd that prejudice after his coming thither, by diſpoſing the Prince all he could to the Marriage of the *Infanta*; and by his behaviour after his return, in juſtifying to King *James*, who had a very good Opinion of him, the Sincerity of the *Spaniard* in the Treaty of the Marriage, "That they did in truth deſire it, and were "fully reſolv'd to gratify his Majeſty in the Buſineſs of the "*Palatinate*, and only deſir'd, in the mannor of it, to gratify "the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria*, all they could; "which would take up very little time. All which being ſo contrary to the Duke's purpoſes and reſolutions, his Diſpleaſure to *Cottington* was ſufficiently manifeſt. And King *James* was no ſooner dead, and the new Officers, and Orders made, but the Profits, and Privileges, which had uſed to be continued to him who had been Secretary, till ſome other Promotion, were all retrench'd. And when he was one Morning Attending in the Privy Lodgings, as he was accuſtom'd to do, one of the Secretaries of State came to him, and told him, "That it was the King's pleaſure, he ſhould no more "preſume to come into thoſe Rooms (which was the firſt inſtance he had receiv'd of the King's Diſfavour) and at the ſame inſtant the Duke enter'd into that Quarter: Sr *Francis Cottington* addreſs'd himſelf towards him, and deſir'd "he "would give him leave to ſpeak to him; upon which the Duke inclining his ear, mov'd to a window from the Company; and the other told him, "that he receiv'd every day "freſh Marks of his Severity; mention'd the Meſſage, which had been then deliver'd to him, and deſir'd only to know, "Whether it could not be in his power, by all dutiful Ap-"plication, and all poſſible Service, to be reſtor'd to the "good Opinion his Grace had once vouchſafed to have of "him, and to be admitted to Serve him? The Duke heard him without the leaſt Commotion, and with a Countenance ſerene enough, and then anſwer'd him, "That he would deal "very clearly with him; that it was utterly impoſſible to "bring that to paſs which he had propos'd: That he was "not only firmly reſolv'd never to truſt him, or to have to "do with him, but that he was, and would be always his de-"clar'd Enemy: and that he would do always whatſoever "ſhould be in his power to Ruin and Deſtroy him, and of "this he might be moſt aſſur'd: without mentioning any particular ground for his ſo heighten'd Diſpleaſure.

THE Other very calmly reply'd to him (as he was Maſter of an incomparable Temper) "That ſince he was re-"ſolv'd Never to do him Good, he hoped from his Juſtice, and "Generoſity, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to Gain by his

"Loſs; That he had laid out, by his Command, ſo much "Money for Jewels, and Pictures, which he had receiv'd: "and that, in hope of his future Favour, he had once pre- "ſented a Suit of Hangings to him, which coſt him 800l, "which he hoped he would cauſe to be reſtor'd to him, and "that he would not let him be ſo great a Loſer by him. The Duke anſwer'd, "he was in the right; that he ſhould "the next Morning go to *Oliver* (who was his Receiver) "and give him a particular account of all the Money due to "him, and he ſhould preſently pay him; which was done the next Morning accordingly, without the leaſt abatement of any of his demands.

And he was ſo far Reconcil'd to him before his death, that being reſolv'd to make Peace with *Spain*, to the end he might more vigorouſly purſue the War with *France* (to which his heart was moſt paſſionately fix'd) he ſent for *Cottington* to come to him, and after Conference with him, told him, "the King would ſend him Embaſſadour thither, and "that he ſhould attend him at *Portſmouth* for his Diſpatch.

His ſingle Misfortune was (which indeed was productive of many greater) that he never made a noble and a worthy Friendſhip with a Man ſo near his Equal, that he would frankly adviſe him for his Honour, and true Intereſt, againſt the Current, or rather the Torrent of his Impetuous Paſſions; which was partly the Vice of the Time, when the Court was not repleniſh'd with great choice of Excellent Men; and partly the Vice of the Perſons, who were moſt worthy to be apply'd to, and look'd upon his Youth, and his Obſcurity before his Riſe, as Obligations upon him to gain their Friendſhips by extraordinary Application. Then his Aſcent was ſo quick, that it ſeem'd rather a Flight than a Growth, and he was ſuch a Darling of Fortune, that he was at the Top, before he was well ſeen at the Bottom; and as if he had been born a Favourite, he was Supreme the firſt Month he came to Court; and it was want of Confidence, not of Credit, that he had not all at firſt, which he obtain'd afterwards; never meeting with the leaſt Obſtruction from his Setting out, till he was as great as he could be: So that he wanted Dependants before he thought he could want Coadjutors. Nor was he very Fortunate in the Election of thoſe Dependants, very few of his Servants having been ever qualify'd enough to Aſſiſt or Adviſe him; and they were intent only upon growing Rich under him, not upon their Maſter's growing Good, as well as Great: Inſomuch as he was throughout his Fortune a much Wiſer Man, than any Servant or Friend he had.

Let the Fault or Misfortune be what, or whence it will,

it may reaſonably be believ'd that if he had been bleſſed with one Faithful Friend, who had been qualified with Wiſdom and Integrity, that Great Perſon would have committed as few Faults, and done as tranſcendent worthy Actions, as any Man who ſhin'd in ſuch a Sphere in that Age in *Europe*. For he was of an excellent Diſpoſition, and of a Mind very capable of Advice and Counſel: He was in his Nature juſt and candid, liberal, generous, and bountiful; nor was it ever known, that the temptation of Money ſway'd him to do an unjuſt, or unkind thing. And though he left a very great Eſtate to his Heirs; conſidering the vaſt Fortune he inherited by his Wife, the ſole Daughter, and Heir of *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, he owed no part of it to his Own Induſtry, or Sollicitation; but to the Impatient Humour of two Kings his Maſters, who would make his Fortune equal to his Titles, and the one as much above other Men, as the other was. And he conſider'd it no otherwiſe than as Their's, and left it at his death engag'd for the Crown, almoſt to the value of it, as is touch'd upon before.

If he had an immoderate Ambition, with which he was charged, and is a Weed (if it be a Weed) apt to grow in the beſt Soils; it doth not appear that it was in his Nature, or that he brought it with him to the Court, but rather found it there, and was a Garment neceſſary for that Air. Nor was it more in his power to be without Promotion, and Titles, and Wealth, than for a Healthy Man to ſit in the Sun, in the brighteſt Dog-days, and remain without any warmth. He needed no Ambition, who was ſo ſeated in the Hearts of two ſuch Maſters.

There are two particulars, which lye heavieſt upon his Memory, either of them aggravated by Circumſtances very important, and which adminiſter frequent occaſions by their Effects to be remember'd.

The Firſt, his Engaging his old unwilling Maſter and the Kingdom in the War with *Spain* (not to mention the bold Journey thither, or the Breach of that Match) in a time when the Crown was ſo poor, and the People more inclin'd to a bold Enquiry, How it came to be ſo, than dutyful to provide for its Supply: and this only upon Perſonal Animoſities between Him, and the Duke of *Olivarez*, the ſole Favourite in that Court, and thoſe Animoſities from very Trivial Provocations, which flowed indeed from no other Fountain, than that the Nature and Education of *Spain* reſtrain'd Men from that Gayety, and Frolique Humour, to which the Prince's Court was more inclin'd. And *Olivarez* had been heard to Cenſure very ſeverely the Duke's Familiarity, and want of Reſpect towards the Prince (a Crime

monſtrous to the *Spaniard*) and had ſaid, (that "if the *In-*
"*fanta* did not, as ſoon as ſhe was Married, Suppreſs that
"Licence, ſhe would her Self quickly undergo the Miſchief
"of it: Which gave the firſt Alarum to the Duke to appre-
hend his own Ruin in that Union, and accordingly to uſe all
his endeavours to break and prevent it: and from that time
he took all occaſions to Quarrel with, and Reproach the
Conde Duke.

ONE Morning the King deſir'd the Prince to take the Air,
and to viſit a little Houſe of Pleaſure he had (the *Prado*)
four Miles from *Madrid*, ſtanding in a Forreſt, where he us'd
ſometimes to Hunt; and the Duke not being ready, the King
and the Prince, and the *Infante Don Carlos* went into the
Coach, the King likewiſe calling the Earl of *Briſtol* into that
Coach to aſſiſt them in their Converſation, the Prince then not
Speaking any *Spaniſh*; and left *Olivarez* to follow in the
Coach with the Duke of *Buckingham*. When the Duke came,
they went into the Coach, accompanied with others of both
Nations, and proceeded very cheerfully towards the overtak-
ing the King; but when upon the way he heard, that the
Earl of *Briſtol* was in the Coach with the King, he broke out
into a great paſſion, revil'd the *Conde* Duke as the Contri-
ver of the Affront, reproach'd the Earl of *Briſtol* for his pre-
ſumption, in taking the Place which in all reſpects belong'd
to Him, who was joyn'd with him as Embaſſadour Extraor-
dinary, and came laſt from the preſence of his Maſter, and
reſolv'd to go out of the Coach and to return to *Madrid*.
Olivarez eaſily diſcover'd by the diſorder, and the noiſe, and
the tone, that the Duke was very Angry, without compre-
hending the cauſe of it; Only found that the Earl of *Briſtol*
was often nam'd with ſuch a tone, that he begun to ſuſpect
what in truth might be the Cauſe. And thereupon he com-
manded a Gentleman, who was on Horſeback, with all ſpeed
to overtake the King's Coach, and deſire that it might ſtay;
intimating that the Duke had taken ſome Diſpleaſure, the
ground whereof was not enough underſtood. Upon which
the King's Coach ſtay'd, and when the other approach'd with-
in diſtance, the *Conde* Duke alighted, and acquainted the
King with what he had obſerv'd, and what he conceiv'd. The
King himſelf alighted; made great Compliments to the Duke,
the Earl of *Briſtol* excuſing himſelf upon the King's Com-
mand, that he ſhould ſerve as Interpreter. In the end *Don*
Carlos went into the Coach with the Favourite, and the Duke
and the Earl of *Briſtol* went with the King, and the Prince;
and ſo they proſecuted their Journey, and after Dinner re-
turn'd in the ſame manner to *Madrid*.

THIS with all the Circumſtances of it adminiſter'd won-

derful

derful occaſion of diſcourſe in the Court and Country, there never having been ſuch a Comet ſeen in that Hemiſphere; their ſubmiſs Reverence to their Princes being a vital part of their Religion.

THERE were very few days paſs'd afterwards, in which there was not ſome manifeſtation of the higheſt Diſpleaſure, and Hatred in the Duke againſt the Earl of *Briſtol*. And when the *Conde* Duke had ſome eclairciſment with the Duke, in which he made all the Proteſtations of his ſincere Affection, and his deſire to maintain a clear and faithful Friendſhip with him, which he conceiv'd might be, in ſome degree, uſeful to both their Maſters; the Other receiv'd his Proteſtations with all Contempt, and declar'd, with a very unneceſſary frankneſs, "that he would have no Friendſhip with him.

THE next day after the King return'd from accompanying the Prince towards the Sea, where, at parting, there were all poſſible demonſtrations of mutual Affection between them; the King cauſed a fair Pillar to be erected in the place where they Laſt embrac'd each other, with Inſcriptions of great Honour to the Prince; there being then in that Court not the leaſt Suſpicion, or Imagination, that the Marriage would not Succeed. Inſomuch that afterwards, upon the news from *Rome* that the Diſpenſation was granted, the Prince having left the Deſponſorios in the hands of the Earl of *Briſtol*, in which the *Infante Don Carlos* was conſtituted the Prince's Proxy to Marry the *Infanta* on his behalf; She was treated as Princeſs of *Wales*, the Queen gave her place, and the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour had frequent Audiences, as with his Miſtriſs, in which he would Not be cover'd: Yet, I ſay, the very next day after the Prince's departure from the King, Mr *Clark*, one of the Prince's Bed-chamber, who had formerly ſerv'd the Duke, was ſent back to *Madrid*, upon pretence that ſomewhat was forgotten there, but in truth, with orders to the Earl of *Briſtol* not to deliver the Deſponſorios (which, by the Articles, he was oblig'd to do, within fifteen days after the arrival of the Diſpenſation) until he ſhould receive further orders from the Prince, or King, after his Return into *England*.

Mr CLARK was not to deliver this Letter to the Embaſſadour, till he was ſure the Diſpenſation was come; of which he could not be advertis'd in the inſtant. But he lodging in the Embaſſadour's houſe, and falling ſick of a Calenture, which the Phyſicians thought would prove mortal, he ſent for the Earl to come to his Bed ſide, and deliver'd him the Letter before the arrival of the Diſpenſation, though long after it was known to be granted; upon which all thoſe Ceremonies were perform'd to the *Infanta*.

By these means, and by this method, this great Affair, upon which the Eyes of *Christendom* had been so long fix'd, came to be Dissolv'd, without the least mixture with, or contribution from those Amours, which were afterwards so confidently discours'd of. For though the Duke was naturally carried violently to those Passions, when there was any grace or beauty in the Object, yet the Duchess of *Olivarez*, of whom was the talk, was then a Woman so old, past Children, of so abject a presence, in a word, so crooked and deform'd, that she could neither tempt his Appetite, nor magnify his Revenge. And whatsoever he did afterwards in *England* was but *tueri opus*, and to prosecute the Design he had, upon the Reason and Provocation aforesaid, so long before contriv'd during his abode in *Spain*.

The other particular, by which he involv'd himself in so many Fatal Intricacies, from which he could never extricate himself, was, his running violently into the War in *France*, without any kind of provocation, and upon a particular passion very unwarrantable. In his Embassy in *France*, where his Person and Presence was wonderfully admired, and esteem'd (and in truth it was a Wonder in the eyes of all Men) and in which he appear'd with all the Lustre the Wealth of *England* could adorn him with, and Outshin'd all the bravery that Court could dress it self in, and Overacted the whole Nation in their own most peculiar Vanities: He had the Ambition to fix his Eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent Affection to a Lady of a very sublime Quality, and to pursue it with most importunate Addresses; Insomuch as when the King had brought the Queen his Sister as far as he meant to do, and deliver'd her into the hands of the Duke to be by him conducted into *England*; the Duke, in his Journey, after the departure of that Court, took a resolution once more to make a Visit to that great Lady, which he believ'd he might do with much privacy. But it was so easily discover'd, that provision was made for his Reception; and if he had pursued his Attempt, he had been without doubt Assassinated; of which he had only so much notice, as serv'd him to decline the Danger. But he swore, in the instant, "that he would See, and Speak with that Lady, in Spight of "the Strength and Power of *France*. And from the time that the Queen arriv'd in *England*, he took all the ways he could to Undervalue and Exasperate that Court and Nation, by causing all those who fled into *England* from the justice and displeasure of that King, to be receiv'd and entertain'd here, not only with ceremony and security, but with bounty and magnificence; and the more extraordinary the Persons were, and the more notorious their King's displeasure was towards

them

them (as in that time there were very many Lords and Ladies in thoſe circumſtances) the more reſpectfully they were receiv'd, and eſteem'd. He omitted no opportunity to Incenſe the King againſt *France*, and to diſpoſe him to aſſiſt the *Hugonots*, whom he likewiſe encourag'd to give their King ſome trouble.

And which was Worſe than all this, he took great pains to Leſſen the King's Affection towards his Young Queen, being exceedingly jealous, leſt Her Intereſt might be of force enough to Croſs his other Deſigns: And in this Stratagem, he ſo far ſwerv'd from the Inſtinct of his Nature, and his proper Inclinations, that He who was compounded of all the elements of Affability, and Courteſy towards all kind of People, had brought himſelf to a habit of Neglect, and even of Rudeneſs towards the Queen.

One day, when he unjuſtly apprehended that She had ſhew'd ſome diſreſpect to his Mother, in not going to her Lodging at an hour ſhe had intended to go, and was hinder'd by a meer accident; he came into her Chamber in much Paſſion, and, after ſome Expoſtulations rude enough, he told her, *She ſhould Repent it*; her Majeſty anſwering with ſome quickneſs, he reply'd Inſolently to her, *that there had been Queens in* England, *who had loſt their Heads*. And it was univerſally known, that, during His life, the Queen never had any Credit with the King, with reference to any publick Affairs, and ſo could not Divert the Reſolution of making a War with *France*.

The War with *Spain* had found the Nation in a Surfeit of a long Peace, and in a diſpoſition Inclinable enough to War with that Nation, which might put an end to an Alliance the moſt ungrateful to them, and which they moſt fear'd, and from whence no other Damage had yet befallen them, than a Chargeable and Unſucceſsful Voyage by Sea, without the loſs of Ships or Men. But a War with *France* muſt be carried on at another rate, and expence. Beſides, the Nation, was weary and ſurfeited with the Firſt, before the Second was enter'd upon; and it was very viſible to Wiſe Men, that when the general Trade of the Kingdom, from whence the Support of the Crown principally reſulted, ſhould be utterly extinguiſh'd with *France*, as it was with *Spain*, and interrupted or obſtructed with all other Places (as it muſt be, in a great meaſure, in a War, how proſperouſly ſoever carried on) the effects would be very ſad, and involve the King in many perplexities; and it could not but fall out accordingly.

Upon the return from *Cales* without ſucceſs, though all the Ships, and, upon the matter, all the Men were ſeen (for though ſome had ſo ſurfeited in the Vineyards, and with the

Wines, that they had been left behind, the Generosity of the *Spaniards* sent them all home again) and though by that Fleet's putting in at *Plymouth*, near two hundred miles from *London*, there could be but very imperfect relations, and the news of Yesterday was contradicted by the Morrow; besides that the Expedition had been undertaken by the Advice of the Parliament, and with an universal Approbation of the People, so that no body could reasonably speak loudly against it; Yet, notwithstanding all this, the ill Success was heavily born, and imputed to ill Conduct; the principal Officers of the Fleet and Army divided amongst themselves, and all united in their murmurs against the General, the Lord Viscount *Wimbledon*; who, though an old Officer in *Holland*, was never thought equal to the Enterprise. In a word, there was Indisposition enough quickly discover'd against the War it self, that it was easily discern'd, it would not be pursued with the vigour it was enter'd into, nor carried on by any cheerful contribution of Money from the Publick.

But the running into this War with *France* (from whence the Queen was so newly, and joyfully receiv'd) without any colour of Reason, or so much as the formality of a Declaration from the King, containing the ground, and provocation, and end of it, according to custom and obligation in the like cases (for it was observ'd that the *Manifesto* which was publish'd was in the Duke's own Name, who went Admiral and General of the Expedition) opened the mouths of all Men, to Inveigh against it with all Bitterness, and the suddain ill Effects of it, manifested in the Return of the Fleet to *Portsmouth*, within Such a distance of *London*, that nothing could be conceal'd of the Loss sustain'd; in which, most noble Families found a Son, or a Brother, or near Kinsman wanting, without such Circumstances of their deaths, as are usually the Consolations, and Recompences of such Catastrophes. The Retreat had been a Rout without an Enemy, and the *French* had Their revenge by the Disorder, and Confusion of the *English* Themselves; in which, great numbers of Noble and Ignoble were crowded to death, or drowned without the help of an Enemy: and as some thousands of the Common Men were wanting, so few of those Principal Officers, who attain'd to a Name in War, and by whose Courage and Experience any War was to be conducted, could be found.

The effects of this overthrow did not at first appear in whispers, murmurs, and invectives, as the Retreat from *Cales* had done; but produc'd such a general Consternation over the face of the whole Nation, as if all the Armies of *France* and *Spain* were united together, and had cover'd the

Land

Land. Mutinies in the Fleet and Army, under pretence of their want of Pay (whereof no doubt there was much due to them) but in truth, out of deteſtation of the Service, and the Authority of the Duke. The Counties throughout the Kingdom were ſo incenſed, and their affections poyſon'd, that they refus'd to ſuffer the Soldiers to be billetted upon them; by which, they often underwent greater inconveniences and miſchiefs, than they endeavour'd to prevent. The endeavour to raiſe new Men for the recruit of the Army by Preſſing (the uſual method, that had commonly been practiſed upon ſuch occaſions) found oppoſition in many places; and the Authority by which it was done not ſubmitted to, as being counted illegal. This produc'd a reſort to Martial Law, by which many were executed; which rais'd an aſperity in the minds of more than of the Common People. And this diſtemper was ſo univerſal, that the leaſt ſpark ſtill meeting with combuſtible matter enough to make a flame, all wiſe Men look'd upon it as the Prediction of the Deſtruction, and Diſſolution, that would follow. Nor was there a Serenity in the Countenance of any Man, who had age and experience enough to conſider things to come; but only in thoſe who wiſh'd the deſtruction of the Duke, and thought it could not be purchas'd at too dear a price, and look'd upon this flux of humours as an inevitable way to bring it to paſs.

And it cannot be deny'd, that from theſe two Wars ſo wretchedly enter'd into, and the circumſtances before mention'd, and which flow'd from thence, the Duke's ruin took it's date; and never left purſuing him, till that execrable act upon his Perſon: the malice whereof was contracted by that ſole evil Spirit of the time, without any partner in the Conſpiracy. And the Venome of That ſeaſon increas'd and got vigour; until, from one Licence to another, it proceeded till the Nation was corrupted to that monſtrous degree, that it grew Satiated, and weary of the Government it ſelf; under which it had enjoy'd a greater meaſure of Felicity, than any Nation was ever poſſeſs'd of; and which could never be continued to them, but under the ſame Government. And as theſe calamities Originally ſprung from the Inordinate appetite and paſſion of this young Man, under the too much Eaſineſs of two indulgent Maſters, and the concurrence of a thouſand other accidents; ſo, if he had liv'd longer, the obſervation and experience he had gain'd, which had very much improv'd his Underſtanding, with the Greatneſs of his Spirit, and Jealouſy of his Maſter's honour (to whom his Fidelity was Superior to any temptation) might have repair'd many of the Inconveniences, which he had introduc'd, and would have prevented the miſchiefs which were the natural effects of thoſe cauſes.

An account of a Prediction of the Duke's death.

THERE were many Stories ſcatter'd abroad at that time, of ſeveral Prophecies, and Predictions of the Duke's untimely and violent death. Amongſt the reſt there was one, which was upon a better foundation of credit, than uſually ſuch diſcourſes are founded upon. There was an Officer in the King's Wardrobe in *Windſor* Caſtle, of a good reputation for honeſty and diſcretion, and then about the Age of fifty years or more: this Man had, in his youth, been bred in a School, in the Pariſh where Sr *George Villiers* the Father of the Duke liv'd; and had been much cheriſh'd and oblig'd, in that ſeaſon of his Age, by the ſaid Sr *George*, whom afterwards he never ſaw. About ſix months before the miſerable end of the Duke of *Buckingham*, about midnight, this Man, being in his bed, at *Windſor* where his Office was, and in a very good health, there appear'd to him on the ſide of his bed, a Man of a very venerable aſpect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his Eyes upon him, ask'd him, if he knew him. The poor Man, half dead with fear, and apprehenſion, being ask'd the ſecond time, Whether he remember'd him? and having in that time call'd to his memory the preſence of Sr *George Villiers*, and the very Cloaths he uſed to wear, in which at that time he ſeem'd to be habited; he anſwer'd him, That he thought him to be that Perſon. He reply'd, "he was in the right; that he was the ſame, and that he "expected a ſervice from him; which was, that he ſhould "go from Him to his Son the Duke of *Buckingham*, and tell "him, if he did not ſomewhat to ingratiate himſelf to the "People, or, at leaſt, to abate the extreme Malice they had "againſt him, he would be ſuffer'd to live but a ſhort time. After this diſcourſe he diſappear'd; and the poor Man, if he had been at all waking, ſlept very well till morning, when he believ'd all this to be a dream, and conſider'd it no otherwiſe.

THE next night, or ſhortly after, the ſame Perſon appear'd to him again in the ſame place, and about the ſame time of the night, with an aſpect a little more ſevere than before; and ask'd him, Whether he had done as he had requir'd him? and perceiving he had not, gave him very ſevere reprehenſions; told him, "He expected more compliance "from him; and that if he did not perform his Commands, "he ſhould enjoy no peace of mind, but ſhould be al-"ways purſued by him: upon which he promis'd him to obey him. But the next morning waking out of a good ſleep, though he was exceedingly perplex'd with the lively repreſentation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing ſtill to perſwade himſelf that he had only dream'd: and conſider'd, that he was a Perſon at ſuch a diſtance from the Duke, that he knew not how to find any admiſſion to his preſence;

preſence; much leſs had any hope to be believ'd in what he ſhould ſay. So with great trouble and unquietneſs, he ſpent ſome time in thinking what he ſhould do; and in the end reſolv'd to do nothing in the matter.

THE ſame Perſon appear'd to him the third time with a terrible Countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promis'd to do. The poor Man had by this time recover'd the courage to tell him, "That in truth "he had deferr'd the execution of his Commands, upon con- "ſidering, how difficult a thing it would be for him to get "any acceſs to the Duke, having acquaintance with no Per- "ſon about him; and if he could obtain admiſſion to him, "he ſhould never be able to perſwade him, that he was ſent "in Such a manner; but he ſhould, at beſt, be thought to "be Mad, or to be ſet on and employ'd, by his own or the "malice of other Men, to abuſe the Duke; and ſo he ſhould "be ſure to be undone. The Perſon reply'd, as he had done before, "That he ſhould never find reſt, till he ſhould per- "form what He requir'd; and therefore he were better to "diſpatch it: That the acceſs to his Son was known to be "very eaſy; and that few Men waited long for Him; and "for the gaining him Credit, he would tell him two or three "particulars; which he charg'd him never to mention to "any Perſon living, but to the Duke himſelf; and He ſhould "no ſooner hear them, but he would believe all the reſt he "ſhould ſay: and ſo repeating his Threats he left him.

IN the morning, the poor Man, more confirm'd by the laſt Appearance, made his Journey to *London*, where the Court then was. He was very well known to Sr *Ralph Free- man*, one of the Maſters of Requeſts, who had Married a Lady that was nearly ally'd to the Duke, and was himſelf well receiv'd by him. To him this Man went; and though he did not acquaint him with all particulars, he ſaid enough to him to let him ſee there was ſomewhat extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the Sobriety, and Diſcretion of the Man, made the more impreſſion in him. He deſir'd, that, "by His means he might be brought to the Duke; to "ſuch a place, and in ſuch a manner, as ſhould be thought fit; affirming, "That he had much to ſay to him, and of ſuch a "Nature, as would require much Privacy, and ſome time "and patience in the hearing. Sr *Ralph* promiſed, "He "would ſpeak firſt with the Duke of him, and then he ſhould "underſtand his pleaſure: and accordingly, in the firſt op- portunity, he did inform him of the Reputation and Honeſty of the Man, and then what he deſir'd, and of all he knew of the matter. The Duke, according to his uſual openneſs and condeſcenſion, told him, "That he was the next day

"early

"early to Hunt with the King; that his Horſes ſhould attend "him at *Lambeth*-Bridge, where he would Land by five of "the Clock in the morning; and if the Man attended him, "there at that hour, he would walk, and ſpeak with him, "as long as ſhould be neceſſary. Sr *Ralph* carried the Man with him the next morning, and preſented him to the Duke at his Landing, who receiv'd him Courteouſly; and walk'd aſide in Conference near an hour, none but his own Servants being at that hour in that place; and they and Sr *Ralph* at ſuch a diſtance, that they could not hear a word, though the Duke ſometimes ſpoke, and with great Commotion; which Sr *Ralph* the more eaſily obſerv'd, and perceiv'd, becauſe he kept his Eyes always fixed upon the Duke; having procur'd the Conference, upon ſomewhat he knew there was of Extraordinary. And the Man told him in his return over the water, "That when he mention'd thoſe particulars "which were to gain him Credit, the Subſtance whereof he "ſaid he durſt not impart to him, the Duke's Colour chang'd, "and he ſwore he could come to that knowledge only by "the Devil; for that thoſe particulars were known only to "himſelf, and to one Perſon more, who, he was ſure, would "never ſpeak of it.

THE Duke purſued his purpoſe of Hunting; but was obſerv'd to ride all the morning with great penſiveneſs, and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the Exerciſe he was upon: and before the Morning was ſpent, left the Field, and alighted at his Mother's Lodgings in *White-Hall*; with whom he was ſhut up for the ſpace of two or three hours; the noiſe of their diſcourſe frequently reaching the Ears of thoſe who attended in the next Rooms; and when the Duke left Her, his Countenance appear'd full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a Countenance, that was never before obſerv'd in him, in any Converſation with Her, towards whom he had a profound Reverence. And the Counteſs her ſelf (for though ſhe was Married to a private Gentleman, Sr *Thomas Compton*, ſhe had been created Counteſs of *Buckingham*, ſhortly after her Son had firſt aſſum'd that Title) was, at the Duke's leaving her, found overwhelm'd in Tears, and in the higheſt Agony imaginable. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the Duke's Murther (which happen'd within few Months after) was brought to his Mother, ſhe ſeem'd not in the leaſt degree ſurpriſed; but receiv'd it as if ſhe had foreſeen it; nor did afterwards expreſs ſuch a degree of Sorrow, as was expected from ſuch a Mother, for the loſs of ſuch a Son.

THIS Digreſſion much longer than it was intended, may not be thought altogether improper in this Diſcourſe. For

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as the mention of his Death was very pertinent, in the place, and upon the occaſion, it happen'd to be made; ſo upon that occaſion, it ſeem'd the more reaſonable to Digreſs upon the Nature, and Character, and Fortune of the Duke; as being the beſt Mirroir to diſcern the Temper, and Spirit of that Age, and the wonderful concurrence of many fatal Accidents, to diſfigure the Government of two Excellent Kings; under whom their Kingdoms in general proſper'd exceedingly, and enjoy'd a longer Peace, a greater Plenty, and in fuller Security, than had been in any former Age.

A proſpect of the Court and the Miniſters after the Duke's death.

AND becauſe there was ſo total a change of all Counſels, and in the whole face of the Court upon the Death of that mighty Favourite; all thoughts of War being preſently laid aſide (though there was a faint looking towards the relief of *Rochel* by the Fleet, that was ready under the Command of the Earl of *Lindſey*) and the proviſions for Peace and Plenty taken to Heart: it will not be unuſeful, nor unpleaſant, to enlarge the Digreſſion, before a return to the proper Subject of the Diſcourſe, by a proſpect of the Conſtitution of the Court, after that bright Star was ſhot out of the Horizon; Who were the Chief Miniſters, that had the principal Management of Publick Affairs in Church and State; and how equal their Faculties and Qualifications were for thoſe high Tranſactions; in which, mention ſhall be only made of Thoſe who were then in the higheſt Truſt; there being at that time no Ladies who had diſpos'd themſelves to intermeddle in buſineſs: and hereafter, when That Activity begun, and made any Progreſs, it will be again neceſſary to take a new ſurvey of the Court, upon that alteration.

Of the Lord Keeper Coventry.

SIR *Thomas Coventry* was then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and newly made a Baron. He was a Son of the Robe; his Father having been a Judge in the Court of the Common Pleas: who took great care to breed him, though his firſt born, in the ſtudy of the Common Law; by which he himſelf had been promoted to that degree; and in which, in the Society of the Inner Temple, his Son made a notable Progreſs, by an early Eminence in Practice, and Learning; inſomuch as he was Recorder of *London*, Sollicitor General, and King's Atturney, before he was forty years of Age. A rare aſcent! All which Offices he diſcharg'd with great Abilities, and ſingular Reputation of Integrity. In the firſt year after the death of King *James*, he was advanc'd to be Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* (the uſual advancement from the Office of Atturney General) upon the removal of the Biſhop of *Lincoln*: who, though a Man of great Wit, and good Scholaſtick Learning, was generally thought ſo very unequal to the Place, that his Remove was the only recompence

compence and ſatisfaction, that could be made for his Promotion. And yet it was enough known, that the Diſgrace proceeded only from the private diſpleaſure of the Duke of *Buckingham*. The Lord *Coventry* enjoy'd this Place with an univerſal Reputation (and ſure Juſtice was never better adminiſter'd) for the ſpace of about ſixteen years, even to his death, ſome Months before he was ſixty years of Age: which was another important circumſtance of his Felicity; that great Office being ſo ſlippery, that no Man had died in it before, for near the ſpace of forty years. Nor had his Succeſſors, for ſome time after him, much better Fortune. And he himſelf had uſe of all his ſtrength, and skill (as he was an excellent Wreſtler in this kind) to preſerve himſelf from falling, in two Shocks: the one given him by the Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; the other by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who had the greateſt Power over the Affections of the King of any Man of that time.

He was a Man of wonderful Gravity, and Wiſdom; and underſtood not only the whole Science, and Myſtery of the Law, at leaſt equally with any Man who had ever ſate in that Place; but had a clear conception of the whole Policy of the Government both of Church and State, which, by the unskilfulneſs of ſome well-meaning Men, juſtled each the other too much.

He knew the Temper, Diſpoſition, and Genius of the Kingdom moſt exactly; ſaw their Spirits grow every day more ſturdy, inquiſitive, and impatient: and therefore naturally abhorr'd all Innovations, which, he foreſaw, would produce Ruinous Effects. Yet many, who ſtood at a diſtance, thought he was not active, and ſtout enough in oppoſing thoſe Innovations. For though, by his place, he preſided in all Publick Councils, and was moſt ſharp-ſighted in the Conſequence of things; yet he was ſeldom known to Speak in matters of State, which, he well knew, were, for the moſt part, concluded, before they were brought to that Publick Agitation: never, in Forreign Affairs; which the vigour of his Judgement could well have comprehended: nor indeed freely in any thing, but what immediately, and plainly concern'd the Juſtice of the Kingdom; and in that, as much as he could, he procur'd References to the Judges. Though, in his Nature, he had not only a firm Gravity, but a Severity, and even ſome Moroſity; yet it was ſo happily temper'd, and his Courteſy, and Affability towards all Men ſo tranſcendent, and ſo much without affectation, that it marvellouſly recommended him to all Men of all degrees, and he was look'd upon as an excellent Courtier, without receding from the native ſimplicity of his own manners.

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He had, in the plain way of ſpeaking and delivery, without much ornament of Elocution, a ſtrange power of making himſelf believ'd (the only juſtifiable deſign of Eloquence) ſo that though he uſed very frankly to deny, and would never ſuffer any Man to depart from him with an Opinion that he was inclin'd to Gratify, when in truth he was not; holding that Diſſimulation to be the worſt of Lying: yet the Manner of it was ſo gentle, and obliging, and his Condeſcenſion ſuch, to inform the Perſons whom he could not ſatisfy, that few departed from him with ill will, and ill wiſhes.

But then, this happy Temper, and theſe good Faculties, rather preſerv'd him from having many Enemies, and ſupply'd him with ſome Well-wiſhers, than furniſh'd him with any faſt and unſhaken Friends: who are always procur'd in Courts, by more ardour, and more vehement Profeſſions, and Applications, than he would ſuffer himſelf to be entangled with. So that he was a Man rather exceedingly Lik'd, than paſſionately Lov'd: inſomuch that it never appear'd, that he had any one Friend in the Court, of Quality enough to prevent, or divert any diſadvantage he might be expos'd to. And therefore it is no wonder, nor to be imputed to Him, that he retir'd within himſelf as much as he could; and ſtood upon his Defence, without making deſperate Sallies againſt growing Miſchiefs; which, he knew well, he had no power to hinder, and which might probably begin in his own Ruin. To conclude; his Security conſiſted very much in his having but little Credit with the King; and he Died, in a ſeaſon moſt opportune, in which a Wiſe Man would have pray'd to have finiſh'd his Courſe, and which in truth crown'd his other ſignal Proſperity in the World.

Of the Lord Treaſurer Weſton, Earl of Portland.

Sir *Richard Weſton* had been advanc'd to the White-Staff, into the Office of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, ſome Months before the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and had, in that ſhort time, ſo much diſoblig'd him, at leaſt diſappointed his expectation, that many, who were privy to the Duke's moſt ſecret purpoſes, did believe, that if he had out-liv'd that Voyage in which he was engag'd, he would have remov'd him, and made another Treaſurer. And it is very true, that great Office too had been very ſlippery, and not faſt to thoſe who had truſted themſelves in it: Inſomuch as there were at that time, five Noble Perſons alive, who had all Succeeded one another immediately in that unſteady Charge, without any other Perſon intervening: the Earl of *Suffolk*; the Lord Viſcount *Mandevile*, afterwards Earl of *Mancheſter*; the Earl of *Middleſex*; and the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was remov'd under pretence of his Age, and diſability for the work (which had been a better reaſon

againſt

againſt his Promotion, ſo few years before, that his infirmities were very little increas'd) to make room for the preſent Officer; who, though Advanc'd by the Duke, may properly be ſaid to be Eſtabliſh'd by his Death.

He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction by Father and Mother. His Education had been very good amongſt Books and Men. After ſome years ſtudy of the Law, in the Middle Temple, he travell'd into Forreign parts, and at an Age fit to make Obſervations, and Reflections; out of which, that, which is commonly call'd Experience, is conſtituted. After this he betook himſelf to the Court, and liv'd there ſome years; at that diſtance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the Modeſty of the Age, when Men were ſeen ſome time, before they were known; and well known before they were Preferr'd, or durſt pretend to it.

He ſpent the beſt part of his Fortune (a fair one, that he inherited from his Father) in his Attendance at Court; and involv'd his Friends in Securities with him, who were willing to run his hopeful Fortune, before he receiv'd the leaſt Fruit from it, but the Countenance of great Men, and thoſe in Authority, the moſt natural, and moſt certain Stairs to aſcend by.

He was then ſent Embaſſadour to the Arch-Dukes, *Albert* and *Iſabella*, into *Flanders*; and to the Diet in *Germany*, to treat about the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*; in which Negotiation he behav'd himſelf with great Prudence, and with the concurrent teſtimony of his being a Wiſe Man, from all thoſe Princes and Embaſſadours with whom he treated.

Upon his return he was made a Privy Counſellor, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the place of the Lord *Brooke*, who was either perſwaded, or put out of the place; which, being an Office of Honour and Truſt, is likewiſe an excellent Stage for Men of Parts to tread, and expoſe themſelves upon; where they have occaſions of all kinds to lay out, and ſpread all their Faculties and Qualifications, moſt for their Advantage. He behav'd himſelf very well in this Function, and appear'd Equal to it; and carried himſelf ſo luckily in Parliament, that he did his Maſter much Service, and preſerv'd himſelf in the good opinion, and acceptation of the Houſe; which is a bleſſing not indulg'd to many by thoſe High Powers. He did Swim in thoſe troubled and boiſterous Waters, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* rode as Admiral, with a good Grace; when very many who were about him, were drown'd, or forced on ſhore with ſhrewd hurts, and bruiſes: which ſhew'd, he knew well how and when to uſe his Limbs, and Strength to the beſt advantage; ſometimes only to avoid ſinking; and ſometimes to advance and get ground:

ground: and by this dexterity, he kept his Credit with thoſe who could do him good, and loſt it not with others, who deſir'd the deſtruction of thoſe upon whom he moſt depended.

He was made Lord Treaſurer in the manner, and at the time mention'd before, upon the removal of the Earl of *Marlborough*, and few Months before the death of the Duke. The former circumſtance, which is often attended by Compaſſion towards the Degraded, and Prejudice towards the Promoted, brought him no diſadvantage: For beſides the delight That Seaſon had in Changes, there was little reverence towards the Perſon remov'd; and the extream viſible Poverty of the Exchequer, ſhelter'd that Province from the Envy it had frequently created; and open'd a door for much Applauſe to be the portion of a Wiſe, and Provident Miniſter. For the other, of the Duke's death, though ſome, who knew the Duke's paſſions, and prejudice (which often produc'd rather ſuddain indiſpoſition, than obſtinate reſolution) believ'd he would have been ſhortly Caſhier'd, as ſo many had lately been; and ſo that the death of his Founder was a greater Confirmation of him in the Office, than the delivery of the White-Staff to him had been: yet many other wiſe Men, who knew the Treaſurer's talent in removing prejudice, and reconciling himſelf to wavering and doubtful Affections, believ'd that the Loſs of the Duke was very Unſeaſonable; and that the awe, or apprehenſion of His Power, and diſpleaſure, was a very neceſſary alloy for the Impetuoſity of the new Officer's Nature, which needed ſome reſtraint, and check, for ſome time, to his immoderate Pretences, and appetite of Power.

He did indeed appear on the ſuddain wonderfully Elated, and ſo far threw off his old affectation to pleaſe ſome very much, and to diſpleaſe none, in which Art he had excell'd, that in few Months after the Duke's death, he found himſelf to ſucceed him in the Publick diſpleaſure, and in the malice of his Enemies, without ſucceeding him in his Credit at Court, or in the Affection of any conſiderable Dependents. And yet, though he was not ſuperiour to all other Men in the Affection, or rather Reſignation of the King, ſo that he might diſpenſe Favours and Diſfavours according to his own Election, he had a full ſhare in his Maſter's eſteem, who look'd upon him as a wiſe, and able Servant, and worthy of the Truſt he repos'd in him; and receiv'd no other Advice in the large buſineſs of his Revenue: nor was any Man ſo much his ſuperiour, as to be able to leſſen him in the King's Affection by his power. So that he was in a Poſt, in which he might have found much eaſe, and delight, if he could have contain'd himſelf within the Verge of his own Pro-

vince, which was large enough, and of ſuch Extent, that he might, at the ſame time, have drawn a great dependence upon him of very conſiderable Men, and have appear'd a very uſeful, and profitable Miniſter to the King; whoſe Revenue had been very looſely manag'd during the late years, and might, by induſtry, and order, have been eaſily improv'd: and no Man better underſtood what method was neceſſary towards that good Husbandry, than he.

But I know not by what frowardneſs in his Stars, he took more pains in examining, and inquiring into other Mens Offices, than in the diſcharge of his Own; and not ſo much joy in what he Had, as trouble and agony for what he had Not. The truth is, he had ſo vehement a deſire to be the ſole Favourite, that he had no reliſh of the Power he had: and in that contention he had many Rivals, who had Credit enough to do him ill Offices, though not enough to ſatisfy their own Ambition; the King himſelf being reſolv'd to hold the Reins in his own hands, and to put no further truſt in others, than was neceſſary for the Capacity they ſerv'd in. Which Reſolution in his Majeſty was no ſooner believ'd, and the Treaſurer's Pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his Enemies exceedingly increas'd, and others to be leſs eager in the purſuit of his Friendſhip; and every day diſcover'd ſome Infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expoſe him both to Publick Reproach, and to private Animoſities: and even his Vices admitted thoſe contradictions in them, that he could hardly enjoy the pleaſant fruit of any of them. That which firſt expos'd him to the Publick Jealouſy, which is always attended with Publick Reproach, was the concurrent ſuſpicion of his Religion. His Wife, and all his Daughters were declar'd of the Roman Religion, and though he Himſelf, and his Sons, ſometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have Zeal for it; and his Domeſtick converſation and dependents, with whom only he uſed entire freedom, were all known Papiſts; and were believ'd to be Agents for the reſt. And yet with all this diſadvantage to himſelf, he never had reputation and credit with that Party; who were the only people of the Kingdom who did not believe him to be of their Profeſſion. For the Penal Laws (thoſe only excepted which were Sanguinary, and even thoſe ſometimes let looſe) were never more rigidly Executed, nor had the Crown ever ſo great a Revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay ſo dear for the favours, and indulgencies of his Office towards them.

No Man had greater ambition to make his Family great, or ſtronger deſigns to leave a great Fortune to it. Yet his

Expences were so prodigious, especially in his House, that all the ways he used for supply, which were all that occurr'd, could not serve his turn; insomuch that he contracted so great Debts (the anxiety whereof, he pretended, broke his mind, and restrain'd that attention, and industry, which was necessary for the due execution of his Office) that the King was pleas'd Twice to pay his Debts; at least, towards it, to disburse fourty thousand pounds in ready money out of his Exchequer Besides, his Majesty gave him a whole Forrest (*Chute* Forrest in *Hampshire*) and much other land belonging to the Crown; which was the more taken notice of, and Murmur'd against, because, being the chief Minister of the Revenue, he was particularly oblig'd, as much as in him lay, to prevent, and even oppose such *Disinherison*; and because, under that obligation, he had avowedly, and sowerly cross'd the pretences of other Men, and restrain'd the King's Bounty from being exercis'd almost to any. And he had that advantage (if he had made the right use of it) that his Credit was ample enough (seconded by the King's own experience, and observation, and inclination) to Retrench very much of the late unlimited Expences, and especially those of Bounties; which from the death of the Duke ran in narrower Channels, and never so much overflow'd as towards himself, who stopp'd the current to other Men.

He was of an imperious nature, and nothing wary in disobliging and provoking other Men, and had too much courage in offending and incensing them; but after having offended them, he was of so unhappy a Feminine temper, that he was always in a terrible fright and apprehension of them.

He had not that application, and submission, and reverence for the Queen, as might have been expected from his Wisdom and Breeding; and often cross'd her pretences and desires, with more rudeness than was natural to him. Yet he was impertinently sollicitous to know what her Majesty said of him in private, and what Resentments she had towards him. And when by some Confidents, who had their ends upon him from those Offices, he was inform'd of some bitter expressions fall'n from her Majesty, he was so exceedingly afflicted, and tormented with the sense of it, that sometimes by passionate complaints, and representations to the King, sometimes by more dutiful addresses, and expostulations with the Queen, in bewailing his misfortune; he frequently expos'd himself, and left his condition worse than it was before; and the Eclaircisment commonly ended in the discovery of the persons from whom he had receiv'd his most secret intelligence.

He quickly lost the character of a bold, stout, and magna-

nimous Man, which he had been long reputed to be in worſe times: and, in his moſt proſperous ſeaſon, fell under the reproach of being a Man of big looks, and of a mean and abject Spirit.

THERE was a very ridiculous Story at that time in the mouths of many, which, being a known truth, may not be unfitly mention'd in this place, as a kind of illuſtration of the Humour, and Nature of the Man. Sr *Julius Cæſar* was then Maſter of the Rolls, and had, inherent in his Office, the indubitable right and diſpoſition of the Six-Clarks places; all which he had for many years, upon any vacancy, beſtow'd to ſuch Perſons as he thought fit. One of thoſe Places was become void, and deſign'd by the Old Man to his Son *Robert Cæſar*, a Lawyer of a good Name, and exceedingly belov'd. The Lord Treaſurer (as he was vigilant in ſuch Caſes) had notice of the Clark's expiration ſo ſoon, that he procur'd the King to ſend a Meſſage to the Maſter of the Rolls, expreſsly forbidding him to diſpoſe of that Six-Clark's Place, till his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be further made known to him. It was the firſt Command of that kind that had been heard of, and was felt by the Old Man very ſenſibly. He was indeed very Old, and had out-liv'd moſt of his Friends; ſo that his Age was an objection againſt him; many Perſons of Quality being dead, who had, for recompence of Services, procur'd the Reverſion of his Office. The Treaſurer found it no hard matter ſo far to terrify him, that (for the King's Service, as was pretended) he admitted for a Six-Clark a Perſon recommended by him (Mr *Fern* a dependant upon him) who paid ſix thouſand pound ready Money; which, Poor Man! he liv'd to repent in a Jayl. This work being done at the charge of the poor Old Man, who had been a Privy-Counſellor from the entrance of King *James*, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſerv'd in other Offices; the depriving him of his Right made a great noiſe: and the Condition of his Son (his Father being not likely to live to have the diſpoſal of another Office in his power) who, as was ſaid before, was generally belov'd, and eſteem'd, was argument of great Compaſſion; and was lively, and ſucceſsfully repreſented to the King himſelf; who was graciouſly pleas'd to promiſe, that, "If the Old Man chanc'd to die before any other of the "Six-Clarks, that Office, when it ſhould fall, ſhould be con-"ferr'd on his Son, whoſoever ſhould ſucceed him as Maſter "of the Rolls: which might well be provided for, and the Lord Treaſurer oblig'd himſelf (to expiate the injury) to procure ſome Declaration to that purpoſe, under his Majeſty's Sign Manual; which, however eaſy to be done, he long forgot, or neglected.

ONE

ONE day the Earl of *Tullibardine*, who was nearly allied to Mr *Cæsar*, and much his Friend, being with the Treasurer, passionately ask'd him, Whether he had done that business? To whom he answer'd with a seeming trouble, "That he "had forgotten it, for which he was heartily sorry; and if "he would give him a little Note in writing, for a Memo- "rial, he would put it amongst those which he would dis- "patch with the King that Afternoon. The Earl presently writ in a little paper, *Remember Cæsar*; and gave it to him; and he put it into that little Pocket, where, he said, he kept all his Memorials which were first to be transacted.

MANY days pass'd, and *Cæsar* never thought of. At length, when he chang'd his Cloaths, and he who waited on him in his Chamber, according to custom, brought him all the Notes and Papers which were left in those he had left off, which he then commonly perus'd; when he found this little Billet, in which was only written *Remember Cæsar*, and which he had never read before, he was exceedingly confounded, and knew not what to make, or think of it. He sent for his bosome Friends, with whom he most confidently consulted, and shew'd the Paper to them, the Contents whereof he could not conceive: but that it might probably have been put into his hand (because it was found in that inclosure, wherein he put all things of moment which were given him) when he was in motion, and in the Privy Lodgings in the Court. After a serious and melancholick deliberation, it was agreed, that it was the advertisement from some Friend, who durst not own the discovery: that it could signify nothing but that there was a Conspiracy against his life, by his many and mighty Enemies: and they all knew *Cæsar*'s fate, by contemning, or neglecting Such animadversions. And therefore they concluded, that he should pretend to be indispos'd, that he might not stir abroad all that day; nor that any might be admitted to him, but Persons of undoubted Affections: that at Night, the Gates should be shut early, and the Porter enjoyn'd to open them to no body, nor to go himself to bed till the Morning; and that some Servants should watch with him, lest Violence might be us'd at the Gate; and that They themselves, and some other Gentlemen, would sit up all the Night, and attend the Event. Such Houses are always in the Morning haunted by early Suitors; but it was very late before any could now get admittance into the House; the Porter having quitted some of that arrear of sleep, which he ow'd to himself for his nights watching; which he excus'd to his Acquaintance by whispering to them, "That his Lord "should have been Kill'd that night, which had kept all the "House from going to bed. And shortly after, the Earl of

Tullibardine asking him, Whether he had remember'd *Cæsar*? the Treasurer quickly recollected the Ground of his perturbation, and could not forbear imparting it to his Friends, who likewise affected the communication, and so the whole Jest came to be discover'd.

To conclude, all the Honours the King conferr'd upon him (as he made him a Baron, then an Earl, and Knight of the Garter; and above this, gave a young beautiful Lady nearly allied to his Majesty, and to the Crown of *Scotland*, in Marriage to his eldest Son) could not make him think himself Great enough. Nor could all the King's Bounties, nor his own large Accessions, raise a Fortune to his Heir; but after six or eight years spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consum'd than enjoy'd; without any sense or delight in so great Prosperity, with the agony that it was no greater; He Died unlamented by Any; bitterly mention'd by Most who never pretended to love him; and severely censur'd, and complain'd of by Those who expected most from him, and deserv'd best of him; and left a numerous Family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outliv'd the Fortune he left behind him.

Of the Earl of Manchester, *Lord Privy-Seal.*

The next great Counsellor of State was the Lord Privy-Seal, who was likewise of a Noble extraction, and of a Family at that time very fortunate. His Grandfather had been Lord Chief Justice, and left by King *Harry* the Eighth one of the Executors of his last Will. He was the younger Son of his Father, and brought up in the study of the Law in the Middle Temple; and had pass'd, and, as it were, made a progress through all the eminent Degrees of the Law, and in the State. At the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, or thereabouts, he was Recorder of *London*; then the King's Serjeant at Law; afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Before the death of King *James*, by the Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he was rais'd to the Place of Lord High Treasurer of *England*; and within less than a year afterwards, by the withdrawing of that Favour, he was reduced to the almost empty Title of President of the Council; and, to allay the sense of the dishonour, created Viscount *Mandevile*. He bore the Diminution very well, as he was a wise man, and of an excellent temper; and quickly recover'd so much grace, that he was made Earl of *Manchester*, and Lord Privy-Seal, and enjoy'd that Office to his Death; whilst he saw many Removes, and Degradations, in all the other Offices of which he had been possess'd.

He was a man of great Industry; and Sagacity in Business, which he delighted in exceedingly; and preserv'd so great a

vigour of Mind, even to his death (when he was very near eighty years of age,) that ſome, who had known him in his younger years, did believe him to have much quicker Parts in his age, than before. His Honours had grown faſter upon him than his Fortunes; which made him too ſollicitous to advance the latter, by all the ways which offer'd themſelves; whereby he expos'd himſelf to ſome inconvenience, and many reproaches; and became leſs capable of ſerving the Publick by his Counſels, and Authority; which his known wiſdom, long experience, and confeſs'd gravity, and ability, would have enabled him to have done; moſt men conſidering more the Perſon that ſpeaks, than the Things he ſays. And he was unhappily too much uſed as a Check upon the Lord *Coventry*; and when that Lord perplex'd their counſels, and deſigns, with inconvenient objections in Law, the Authority of the Lord *Mancheſter*, who had trod the ſame paths, was ſtill call'd upon; and he did too frequently gratify their unjuſtifiable deſigns, and pretences: a guilt and miſchief, all men who are obnoxious, or who are thought to be ſo, are liable to, and can hardly preſerve themſelves from. But his Virtues ſo far weigh'd down his Infirmities, that he maintain'd a good general reputation, and credit with the whole Nation, and People; he being always look'd upon, as full of Integrity, and Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion, as it was eſtabliſh'd by Law, and of unqueſtionable Loyalty, Duty, and Fidelity to the King; which two Qualifications will ever gather popular Breath enough to fill the Sails, if the Veſſel be competently provided with Ballaſt. He Died in a lucky time, in the beginning of the Rebellion, when neither Religion, Loyalty, Law, nor Wiſdom, could have provided for any man's Security.

Of the Earl of Arundel.

THE Earl of *Arundel* was the next Officer of State, who, in his own Right, and Quality, preceded the reſt of the Council. He was generally thought to be a proud man, who liv'd always within himſelf, and to himſelf, converſing little with any who were in common converſation; ſo that he ſeem'd to live as it were in another Nation, his Houſe being a place to which all people reſorted who reſorted to no other place; Strangers, or ſuch who affected to look like Strangers, and dreſs'd themſelves accordingly. He reſorted ſometimes to the Court, becauſe There only was a greater man than himſelf; and went thither the ſeldomer, becauſe there Was a greater man than himſelf. He liv'd towards all Favourites, and great Officers, without any kind of condeſcenſion, and rather ſuffer'd himſelf to be ill treated by their power and Authority (for he was often in Diſgrace, and once or twice Priſoner in the Tower) than to deſcend in making any application to them.

AND

AND upon these Occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several Journeys into forreign Parts, and, with his Wife and Family, had liv'd some years in *Italy*; the humour, and manners of which Nation he seem'd most to like, and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by Descent, and a much greater from his Wife, who was the sole Daughter upon the matter (for neither of the two Sisters left any Issue) of the great House of *Shrewsbury*; but his Expences were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his Revenue. He was willing to be thought a Scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of Antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly Purchase of excellent Statues, whilst he was in *Italy*, and in *Rome* (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from *Rome*, though he had paid for them) and had a rare Collection of the most curious Medals. As to all parts of Learning he was almost illiterate, and thought no other part of History so considerable, as what related to his own Family; in which, no doubt, there had been some very memorable Persons. It cannot be deny'd that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserv'd in his gate, and motion. He wore and affected a Habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in the Pictures of the most considerable Men; all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many towards him, as the Image, and Representative of the Primitive Nobility, and Native Gravity of the Nobles, when they had been most Venerable: but this was only his out-side; his nature and true humour being much dispos'd to levity, and delights, which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was rather thought not to be much concern'd for Religion, than to incline to this, or that Party of any: and had little other affection for the Nation or the Kingdom, than as he had a great share in it, in which like the great *Leviathan* he might sport himself; from which he withdrew, as soon as he discern'd the repose thereof was like to be disturb'd, and died in *Italy*, under the same doubtful character of Religion in which he liv'd.

Of William *Earl of* Pembroke.

William Earl of *Pembroke* was next, a man of another mould, and making, and of another fame, and reputation with all men, being the most universally belov'd and esteem'd of any man of that age; and, having a great Office in the Court, he made the Court it self better esteem'd, and more reverenced in the Country. And as he had a great number of Friends of the best men, so no man had ever the confidence to avow himself to be his Enemy. He was a man very well bred, and of excellent parts, and a graceful Speaker upon any subject, having

having a good proportion of Learning, and a ready Wit to apply it, and enlarge upon it: of a pleaſant and facetious humour, and a diſpoſition affable, generous, and magnificent. He was maſter of a great Fortune from his Anceſtours, and had a great addition by his Wife, another Daughter, and Heir of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, which he enjoy'd during his life, ſhe outliving him: but all ſerv'd not his Expence, which was only limited by his great mind, and occaſions to uſe it nobly.

He liv'd many years About the Court, before In it; and never By it: being rather regarded and eſteem'd by King *James*, than lov'd and favour'd. After the foul Fall of the Earl of *Somerſet*, he was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, more for the Court's ſake, than his Own; and the Court appear'd with the more Luſtre, becauſe He had the Government of that Province. As he ſpent and liv'd upon his own Fortune, ſo he ſtood upon his own Feet, without any other ſupport than of his proper Virtue and Merit: and liv'd towards the Favourites with that decency, as would not ſuffer them to cenſure or reproach his Maſter's judgement, and election, but as with men of his own rank. He was exceedingly belov'd in the Court, becauſe he never deſir'd to get that for Himſelf which Others labour'd for, but was ſtill ready to promote the pretences of worthy men. And he was equally celebrated in the Country, for having receiv'd no obligations from the Court which might corrupt, or ſway his affections, and judgement: ſo that all who were diſpleas'd, and unſatisfied In the Court, or With the Court, were always inclin'd to put themſelves under his Banner, if he would have admitted them: and yet he did not ſo reject them, as to make them chooſe another Shelter, but ſo far ſuffer'd them to depend on him, that he could reſtrain them from breaking out beyond private reſentments, and murmurs.

He was a great lover of his Country, and of the Religion, and Juſtice, which he believ'd could only ſupport it; and his Friendſhips were only with men of thoſe Principles. And as his Converſation was moſt with men of the moſt pregnant parts, and underſtanding, ſo towards any ſuch, who needed ſupport, or encouragement, though unknown, if fairly recommended to him, he was very liberal. Sure never man was planted in a Court, that was fitter for that Soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that Air.

Yet his memory muſt not be Flatter'd, that his Virtues, and good inclinations may be Believ'd; he was not without ſome allay of Vice, and without being clouded with great Infirmities, which he had in too exorbitant a proportion. He indulg'd to himſelf the Pleaſures of all kinds, almoſt in all

exceſſes.

exceſſes. To Women, whether out of his natural conſtitution, or for want of his domeſtick content and delight, (in which he was moſt unhappy, for he paid much too dear for his Wife's Fortune, by taking her Perſon into the bargain) he was immoderately given up. But therein he likewiſe retain'd ſuch a power, and juriſdiction over his very appetite, that he was not ſo much tranſported with beauty, and outward allurements, as with thoſe advantages of the mind, as manifeſted an extraordinary wit, and ſpirit, and knowledge, and adminiſtred great pleaſure in the converſation. To theſe he ſacrificed himſelf, his precious time, and much of his fortune. And ſome, who were neareſt his truſt and friendſhip, were not without apprehenſion, that his natural vivacity, and vigour of mind begun to leſſen, and decline by thoſe exceſſive Indulgencies.

ABOUT the time of the death of King *James*, or preſently after, he was made Lord Steward of his Majeſty's Houſe; that the Staff of Chamberlain might be put into the hands of his Brother, the Earl of *Montgomery*, upon a new contract of Friendſhip with the Duke of *Buckingham*; after whoſe death, he had likewiſe ſuch Offices of his, as he moſt affected, of honour and command; none of profit, which he cared not for: and within two years after, he died himſelf of an Apoplexy, after a full and chearful Supper.

A SHORT Story may not be unfitly inſerted, it being very frequently mention'd by a Perſon of known integrity, whoſe Character is here undertaken to be ſet down, and who, at that time, being on his way to *London*, met at *Maidenhead* ſome Perſons of Quality, of relation or dependence upon the Earl of *Pembroke* (Sr *Charles Morgan*, commonly call'd General *Morgan*, who had commanded an Army in *Germany*, and defended *Stoad*; Dr *Feild*, then Biſhop of Saint *Davids*; and Dr *Chaſin*, the Earl's then Chaplain in his houſe, and much in his favour.) At Supper one of them drank a health to the Lord Steward: upon which another of them ſaid, "that he "believ'd his Lord was at that time very Merry, for he had "now outliv'd the day, which his Tutor *Sandford* had progno-"ſticated upon his Nativity he would not outlive; but he "had done it now, for that was his Birth-day, which had "compleated his age to fifty years. The next Morning, by the time they came to *Colebrook*, they met with the news of his death.

HE Died exceedingly lamented by men of all qualities, and left many of his Servants and Dependents owners of good Eſtates, rais'd out of his employments, and bounty. Nor had his Heir cauſe to complain. For though his Expences had been very magnificent (and it may be the leſs conſider'd, and his

providence

providence the leſs, becauſe he had no Child to inherit) inſomuch as he left a great Debt charg'd upon the Eſtate; yet conſidering the wealth he left in Jewels, Plate, and Furniture, and the Eſtate his Brother enjoy'd in the right of his Wife (who was not fit to manage it herſelf) during her long life, he may be juſtly ſaid to have inherited as good an Eſtate from him, as He had from his Father, which was one of the beſt in *England*.

Of Philip *Earl of* Montgomery.

THE Earl of *Montgomery*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and now Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Earl of *Dorſet* were likewiſe of the Privy-Council; Men of very different Talents, and Qualifications. The former being a young man, ſcarce of age at the entrance of King *James*, had the good fortune by the comelineſs of his perſon, his skill, and indefatigable induſtry in Hunting, to be the firſt who drew the King's eyes towards him with affection; which was quickly ſo far improv'd, that he had the reputation of a Favourite. Before the end of the firſt, or ſecond year, he was made Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, and Earl of *Montgomery*; which did the King no harm: For beſides that he receiv'd the King's Bounty with more moderation than other men, who ſucceeded him; He was generally known, and as generally eſteem'd; being the Son of one Earl of *Pembroke*, and younger Brother to another, who liberally ſupplied his expence, beyond what his Annuity from his Father would bear.

HE pretended to no other Qualifications, than to underſtand Horſes and Dogs very well, which his Maſter lov'd him the better for (being, at his firſt coming into *England*, very jealous of thoſe who had the reputation of great Parts) and to be believ'd honeſt and generous, which made him many Friends, and left him then no Enemy. He had not ſate many years in that Sun-ſhine, when a new Comet appear'd in Court, *Robert Carr*, a *Scots*-man, quickly after declar'd Favourite; upon whom the King no ſooner fixed his eyes, but the Earl, without the leaſt murmur, or indiſpoſition, left all doors open for his entrance (A rare Temper! and it could proceed from nothing, but his great perfection in loving Field-ſports) which the King receiv'd as ſo great an Obligation, that he always after lov'd him in the Second place, and commended him to his Son at his death, as a Man to be rely'd on in point of Honeſty and Fidelity; though it appear'd afterwards, that he was not ſtrongly Built, nor had ſufficient Ballaſt to endure a Storm; of which more will be ſaid hereafter.

Of Edward *Earl of* Dorſet.

THE other, the Earl of *Dorſet*, was, to all intents, principles, and purpoſes, another Man; his Perſon beautiful, and graceful,

graceful, and vigorous; his Wit pleaſant, ſparkling, and ſublime; and his other Parts of Learning, and Language, of that luſtre, that he could not miſcarry in the world. The Vices he had, were of the Age, which he was not ſtubborn enough to contemn, or reſiſt. He was a younger Brother, Grand-child to the great Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, created, at the King's firſt Entrance, Earl of *Dorſet*, who outliv'd his Father, and took care, and delight in the Education of his Grand-child, and left him a good Support for a younger Brother; beſides a Wife, who was Heir to a fair Fortune. As his Perſon and Parts were ſuch as are before mention'd, ſo he gave them full ſcope, without reſtraint; and indulg'd to his appetite all the Pleaſures, that ſeaſon of his life (the fulleſt of jollity, and riot of any that proceeded, or ſucceeded) could tempt, or ſuggeſt to him.

He entred into a fatal Quarrel, upon a ſubject very unwarrantable, with a young Nobleman of *Scotland*, the Lord *Bruce*; upon which they both tranſported themſelves into *Flanders*, and attended only by two Chirurgions placed at a diſtance, and under an obligation not to ſtir, but upon the fall of one of them, they Fought under the Walls of *Antwerp*, where the Lord *Bruce* fell dead upon the place; and Sr *Edward Sackvile* (for ſo he was then call'd) being likewiſe hurt, retir'd into the next Monaſtery, which was at hand. Nor did this miſerable accident, which he always exceedingly lamented, make that thorough impreſſion upon him, but that he indulg'd ſtill too much to thoſe importunate, and inſatiate appetites, even of that individual Perſon, that had ſo lately embark'd him in that deſperate enterprize; being too much Tinder not to be inflam'd with thoſe Sparks.

His Elder brother did not enjoy his Grandfather's Titles many years, before they deſcended, for want of Heirs male, to the Younger brother. But in theſe few years the Elder, by an exceſs of expence in all the ways to which money can be apply'd, ſo entirely conſum'd almoſt the whole great Fortune that deſcended to him, that, when he was forced to leave the Title to his younger Brother, he left upon the matter nothing to him to ſupport it; which expos'd him to many difficulties, and inconveniencies. Yet his known great Parts, and the very good general Reputation he had acquir'd, notwithſtanding his defects (for as he was eminent in the Houſe of Commons, whilſt he ſate there; ſo he ſhin'd in the Houſe of Peers, when he came to move in that ſphere) inclin'd King *James* to call him to his Privy-Council before his death. And if he had not too much cheriſh'd his natural conſtitution, and propenſity; and been too much griev'd, and wrung by an uneaſy and ſtreight Fortune; he would have been an

excellent

excellent Man of buſineſs, for he had a very ſharp, diſcerning Spirit, and was a Man of an obliging Nature, much Honour, and great Generoſity, and of moſt entire Fidelity to the Crown.

THERE were two other Perſons of much Authority in the Council, becauſe of great Name in the Court; as they deſerv'd to be, being without doubt two as accompliſh'd Courtiers, as were found in the Palaces of all the Princes in *Europe*; and the greateſt (if not too great) improvers of that Breeding, and thoſe Qualifications, with which Courts us'd to be adorn'd; the Earl of *Carliſle*, and the Earl of *Holland*: both (though Men of pleaſure) by their long experience in Court well acquainted with the Affairs of the Kingdom, and better vers'd in thoſe abroad, than any other who ſat then at that Board.

Of the Earl of Carliſle.

THE former, a Younger Brother of a Noble Family in *Scotland*, came into the Kingdom with King *James*, as a Gentleman; under no other Character, than a Perſon well qualified by his breeding in *France*, and by ſtudy in human Learning; in which he bore a good part in the entertainment of the King, who much delighted in that exerciſe; and by theſe means, and notable gracefulneſs in his behaviour, and affability, in which he excell'd, he had wrought himſelf into a particular Intereſt with his Maſter, and into greater Affection and Eſteem with the whole *Engliſh* Nation, than any other of that Country; by chooſing Their Friendſhips, and Converſation, and really preferring it to any of his Own: Inſomuch as upon the King's making him Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Viſcount *Doncaſter*, by his Royal mediation (in which Office he was a moſt prevalent Prince) he obtain'd the ſole Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Denny* to be given him in Marriage; by which he had a fair Fortune in Land provided for any Iſſue he ſhould raiſe, and which his Son by that Lady liv'd long to enjoy.

HE aſcended afterwards, and with the expedition he deſir'd, to the other conveniences of the Court. He was Groom of the Stole, and an Earl, and Knight of the Garter; and Married a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the Earl of *Northumberland*, without any other approbation of her Father, or concernment in it, than ſuffering Him and Her to come into his preſence after they were Married. He liv'd rather in a fair Intelligence than any Friendſhip with the Favourites; having credit enough with his Maſter to provide for his own Intereſt, and he troubled not himſelf for that of other Men; and had no other conſideration of Money, than for the Support of his Luſtre; and whilſt he could do that, he car'd not for Money, having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could.

HE

He was ſurely a Man of the greateſt expence in his own Perſon, of any in the Age he liv'd; and introduced more of that expence in the exceſs of Cloaths and Diet, than any other Man; and was indeed the Original of all thoſe inventions, from which others did but tranſcribe Copies. He had a great univerſal Underſtanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleaſant and worth his care. But he found buſineſs was attended with more Rivals, and vexations; and, he thought, with much leſs pleaſure, and not more innocence.

He left behind him the reputation of a very fine Gentleman, and a moſt accompliſh'd Courtier; and, after having ſpent, in a very Jovial Life, above four hundred thouſand pounds, which, upon a ſtrict computation, he receiv'd from the Crown, he left not a Houſe, nor Acre of Land to be remember'd by. And when he had in his proſpect (for he was very ſharp-ſighted, and ſaw as far before him as moſt Men) the gathering together of that Cloud in *Scotland*, which ſhortly after cover'd both Kingdoms, he Died with as much Tranquility of Mind to all appearance, as uſed to attend a Man of more ſevere exerciſe of Virtue; and with as little apprehenſion of Death, which he expected many days.

Of the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of *Holland* was a Younger Son of a Noble Houſe, and a very fruitful Bed, which divided a numerous Iſſue between two great Fathers: the Eldeſt, many Sons and Daughters to the Lord *Rich*; the Younger, of both Sexes, to *Mountjoy* Earl of *Devonſhire*. The reputation of his Family gave him no great advantage in the World, though his Eldeſt Brother was Earl of *Warwick*, and owner of a great Fortune; and his Younger Earl of *Newport*, of a very plentiful Revenue likewiſe. He, after ſome time ſpent in *France*, betook himſelf to the War in *Holland*, which he intended to have made his Profeſſion; where, after he had made two or three Campaigns, according to the cuſtom of the *Engliſh* Volunteers, he came in the leiſure of the Winter to viſit his Friends in *England*, and the Court that ſhin'd then in the Plenty and Bounty of King *James*; and about the time of the infancy of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Favours, to whom he grew in a ſhort time very acceptable. But his Friendſhip was more entire to the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was more of his Nature, and Humour, and had a Generoſity more applicable at that time to his fortune and his ends. And it was thought by many who ſtood within view, that for ſome years he ſupported himſelf upon the Familiarity and Friendſhip of the other; which continued mutually between them very many years, with little interruption to their death.

He was a very handſome Man, of a lovely, and winning preſence,

preſence, and gentile converſation; by which he got ſo eaſy an admiſſion into the Court, and grace of King *James*, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a Soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himſelf to the Duke, and to his confidence, and wiſely declin'd the receiving any grace or favour, but as His donation; above all, avoided the ſuſpicion that the King had any kindneſs for him, upon any account but of the Duke, whoſe Creature he deſir'd to be eſteem'd, though the Earl of *Carliſle*'s Friend. And he proſper'd ſo well in that Pretence, that the King ſcarce made more haſt to advance the Duke, than the Duke did to promote the other.

He firſt preferr'd him to a Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Cope*, by whom he had a good Fortune; and amongſt other things, the Mannor and Seat of *Kenſington*, of which he was ſhortly after made Baron. And he had quickly ſo entire a confidence in him, that the Duke prevail'd with the King to put him about his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and to be a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, before the Duke himſelf had reaſon to promiſe himſelf any proportion of his Highneſs's grace, and protection. He was then made Earl of *Holland*, Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and of the Privy Council; ſent the firſt Embaſſadour into *France* to treat the marriage with the Queen, or rather privately to treat about the marriage before he was Embaſſadour. And when the Duke went to the Iſle of *Ree*, he truſted the Earl of *Holland* with the command of that Army with which He was to be recruited, and aſſiſted.

In this Confidence, and in this Poſture he was left by the Duke when he was kill'd; and having the advantage of the Queen's good opinion, and favour (which the Duke neither had, nor cared for) he made all poſſible approaches towards the obtaining His truſt, and ſucceeding him in His power; or rather that the Queen might have ſolely that Power, and he only be Subſervient to her; and upon this account, he made a continual War upon the Earl of *Portland* the Treaſurer, and all others who were not gracious to the Queen, or deſir'd not the increaſe of her Authority. And in this State, and under this Protection, he receiv'd every day new Obligations from the King, and great Bounties, and continued to Flouriſh above any man in the Court, whilſt the Weather was fair: but the Storm did no ſooner ariſe, but he chang'd ſo much, and declin'd ſo faſt from the Honour he was thought to be maſter of, that he fell into that Condition, which there will be hereafter too much cauſe to mention, and to enlarge upon.

The

Of the two Secretaries of State, Sir John Coke, *and Sir* Dudley Carleton.

THE two Secretaries of State (who were not in those days Officers of that magnitude they have been since, being only to make Dispatches upon the conclusion of Councils, not to govern, or preside in those Councils) were Sr *John Coke*, who, upon the death of Sr *Albert Moreton*, was, from being Master of Requests, preferr'd to be Secretary of State; and Sr *Dudley Carleton*, who from his Employment in *Holland*, was put into the place of the Lord *Conway*, who, for age and incapacity, was at last remov'd from the Secretary's Office, which he had exercised many years with very notable Insufficiency; so that King *James* was wont pleasantly to say, "that *Stenny* "(the Duke of *Buckingham*) had given him two very proper "Servants; a Secretary, who could neither write, nor read; "and a Groom of his Bed-chamber, who could not truss his "points: Mr *Clark* having but one hand.

OF these two Secretaries the Former was a man of a very narrow education, and a narrower nature; having continued long in the University of *Cambridge*, where he had gotten Latin learning enough; and afterwards in the Country in the condition of a private Gentleman, till after he was fifty years of age; when, upon some reputation he had for Industry and Diligence, he was call'd to some painful employment in the office of the Navy, which he discharg'd well; and afterwards to be Master of Requests, and then to be Secretary of State; which he enjoy'd to a great age: and was a man rather unadorn'd with any parts of vigour and quickness, and unendow'd with any notable virtues, than notorious for any weakness or defect of understanding, or transported with any vitious inclinations, appetite to Money only excepted. His Cardinal perfection was Industry, and his most eminent infirmity Covetousness. His long Experience had inform'd him well of the State and Affairs of *England*; but of Forreign Transactions, or the common interest of Christian Princes, he was entirely undiscerning, and ignorant.

SIR *Dudley Carleton* was of a quite contrary Nature, Constitution, and Education, and understood all that related to Forreign Employments, and the condition of other Princes, and Nations very well; but was unacquainted with the Government, Laws, and Customs of his own Country, and the Nature of the People. He was a Younger Son in a good Gentleman's Family, and bred in *Christ-Church*, in the University of *Oxford*, where he was a Student of the Foundation, and a young Man of Parts, and towardly expectation. He went from thence early into *France*, and was soon after Secretary to Sr *Harry Nevil*, the Embassadour there. He had been sent Embassadour to *Venice*, where he resided many years with good reputation; and was no sooner return'd from thence into

England,

England, that he went Embaſſadour into *Holland* to the States General, and reſided there when that Synod was aſſembled at *Dort*, which hath given the World ſo much occaſion ſince for uncharitable Diſputations, which they were call'd together to prevent. Here the Embaſſadour was not thought ſo equal a Spectator, or Aſſeſſor, as he ought to have been; but by the infuſions he made into King *James*, and by his own activity, he did all he could to diſcountenance that Party that was moſt Learned, and to raiſe the Credit and Authority of the Other; which hath ſince prov'd as inconvenient, and troubleſome to their own Country as to their Neighbours.

He was once more Embaſſadour extraordinary in *Holland* after the death of King *James*, and was the laſt who was admitted to be preſent, and to Vote in the General Aſſembly of the States, under that Character; of which great Privilege the Crown had been poſſeſs'd from a great part of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and through the time of King *James*, to that moment; which adminiſter'd freſh matter of Murmur for the giving up the Towns of the *Brill*, and *Fluſhing*, which had been done ſome years before by King *James*; without which Men thought thoſe States would not have had the Courage ſo ſoon to have degraded the Crown of *England* from a Place in their Councils, which had proſper'd ſo eminently under the Shadow of that Power and Support. As ſoon as he return'd from *Holland*, he was call'd to the Privy-Council. The making him Secretary of State, and a Peer of the Realm, when his Eſtate was ſcarce viſible, was the laſt piece of Workmanſhip the Duke of *Buckingham* liv'd to finiſh, who ſeldom ſatisfy'd himſelf with conferring a ſingle Obligation.

The Riſe of Arch-Biſhop Laud's Power in the Church.

The Duke had obſerv'd, and diſcover'd, that the Channel in which the Church Promotions had formerly run, had been liable to ſome Corruptions, at leaſt to many Reproaches; and therefore had committed the ſole repreſentation of thoſe Affairs, and the recommending to the Vacancies which ſhould happen, to Dr *Laud*, then Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and ſworn of the Privy-Council. And the King, after the Duke's death, continued that Truſt in the ſame Hands, infinitely to the Benefit and Honour of the Church, though, it may be, no leſs to the Prejudice of the Poor Biſhop; who, too ſecure in a good Conſcience, and moſt ſincere worthy Intention (with which no Man was ever more plentifully repleniſh'd) thought he could manage and diſcharge the Place and Office of the Greateſt Miniſter in the Court (for he was quickly made Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) without the leaſt condeſcenſion to the Arts and Stratagems of the Court, and without any other Friendſhip, or Support, than what the ſplendour of a Pious Life, and his unpoliſh'd Integrity would reconcile

concile to him: which was an unskilful measure in a Licentious Age, and may deceive a good Man in the best of times that shall succeed, which exposed him to such a torrent of Adversity and Misery, as we shall have too natural an occasion to Lament in the following Discourse, in which it will be more seasonable to enlarge upon his singular Abilities, and immense Virtue.

THERE were more (too many more) Honourable Persons in that time of the Privy-Council, whose Faculties were not notorious enough to give them any great part in the Affairs, nor had their Advice much influence upon them. Other very notable Men were shortly after added to the Council, who will hereafter be remember'd in their proper Places and Seasons. What hath been said before contains Information enough of the Persons in Employment, and the State of the Court and Kingdom, when the Duke of *Buckingham* was taken from it; by which, and the lively Reflections upon the Qualities, and Qualifications of the several Persons in Authority in Court, and Council, no Man could expect that the vigorous Designs and Enterprizes, undertaken by the Duke, would be pursued with equal Resolution and Courage: but that much the greater part of them would be wholely intent upon their own accommodations in their Fortunes (in which they abounded not) or in their Ease, and Pleasure, which they most passionately affected; having, as hath been said, no other consideration of the Publick, than that no disturbance therein might interrupt their quiet in their own days: And that the rest, who had larger Hearts, and more publick Spirits, would extend their Labour, Activity, and Advice, only to Secure the Empire at Home by all Peaceable arts, and advancement of Trade, which might gratify the People, and fill the empty Coffers of the impoverish'd Crown. To which end the most proper Expedients were best understood by them, not to enlarge it, by continuing and propagating the War; the ways, and means whereof they knew not how to comprehend; and had all the desperate imaginations, and jealousies of the end and necessary consequences of it. And so they all concurr'd (though in nothing else) in their unanimous Advice to the King "to put the quickest Period, he could possibly, to the "expensive War against the two Crowns: and, his Majesty following their Advice, a Peace was made with both, upon better Terms, and Conditions, and in less time, than from the known Impatience of the War could reasonably have been expected, or hoped for. And after some unquietness of the People, and unhappy assaults upon the Prerogative by the Parliament, which produced its Dissolution, and thereupon some froward and obstinate disturbances in Trade, there quickly

A Peace with the two Crowns.

The third Parliament Dissolv'd.

quickly follow'd ſo excellent a Compoſure throughout the whole Kingdom, that the like Peace, and Plenty, and univerſal Tranquility for ten years was never enjoy'd by any Nation; and was the more viſible and manifeſt in *England*, by the ſharp and bloody War ſuddainly enter'd into between the two Neighbour Crowns, and the univerſal Conflagration that, from the Invaſion of the *Swedes*, cover'd the whole Empire of *Germany*. And ſo we ſhall return to the Diſcourſe, to which this very long Digreſſion hath given a greater interruption than was intended.

The ill Effects of the Proclamation ſet forth upon breaking up of the ſecond Parliament.

THAT Proclamation, mention'd before, at the breaking up of the laſt Parliament, and which was commonly underſtood "to inhibit all Men to ſpeak of another Parliament, produced two very ill Effects of different Natures. It afflicted many Good Men (who otherwiſe were enough ſcandaliz'd at thoſe diſtempers, which had incenſed the King) to that degree, that it made them capable of receiving ſome Impreſſions from Thoſe who were diligent in whiſpering and infuſing an opinion into Men, "that there was really an Inten-"tion to Alter the form of Government both in Church, and "State; of which, ſaid they, a greater Inſtance cannot be "given, than this publick declaring (as it was interpreted) "that we ſhall have no more Parliaments. Then, this freedom from the danger of ſuch an Inquiſition did not only encourage ill Men to all boldneſs and licence, but wrought ſo far upon Men leſs inclin'd to ill (though not built for Examples) that they kept not thoſe ſtrict guards upon themſelves they uſed to do; eſpecially if they found themſelves above the reach of ordinary Juſtice, and fear'd not extraordinary, they by degrees thought That no Fault which was like to find no Puniſhment. Supplemental Acts of State were made to ſupply defects of Laws; and ſo Tonnage, and Poundage, and other duties upon Merchandizes, were collected by Order of the Board, which had been poſitively refuſed to be ſettled by Act of Parliament, and new, and greater Impoſitions laid upon Trade: Obſolete Laws were reviv'd, and rigorouſly executed, wherein the Subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too ſtrict a detaining of what was His, to put the King as ſtrictly to enquire what was his Own.

Projects of all kinds.

That of Knighthood.

BY this ill Husbandry the King receiv'd a vaſt ſum of Money from all Perſons of Quality, or indeed of any reaſonable condition throughout the Kingdom, upon the Law of Knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in Right, yet, in the circumſtances of Proceeding, was very grievous. And no leſs unjuſt Projects of all kinds, Many ridiculous, Many ſcandalous, All very grievous, were ſet on foot; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the King, the Profit

to other Men: insomuch that, of two hundred thousand pound drawn from the Subject, by these ways, in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the King's use, or account. To recompence the damage the Crown sustain'd by the Sale of the old Lands, and by the Grant of new Pensions, the old Laws of the Forrest were reviv'd, by which not only great Fines were impos'd, but great Annual Rents intended, and like to be settled by way of Contract, which Burthen lighted most upon Persons of Quality and Honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharpness. Lastly, for a Spring and Magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting Supply of all occasions, a Writ was fram'd in a Form of Law, and directed to the Sheriff of every County of *England*, "To provide a Ship of War for the King's Ser-"vice, and to send it amply provided and fitted, by such a "day, to such a place; and with that Writ were sent to each Sheriff Instructions, that, "instead of a Ship, he should "levy upon his County such a sum of Money, and return "the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for his Majesty's "use, with direction, in what manner he should proceed "against such as refused: and from hence that Tax had the denomination of *Ship money*; a word of a lasting sound in the memory of this Kingdom; by which for some years really accrew'd the yearly Sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the King's Coffers: and it was in truth the only Project that was accounted to his Own Service. And, after the continued receipt of it for about four years together, it was at last (upon the refusal of a private Gentleman to pay twenty or thirty shillings as his share) with great solemnity publickly Argued before all the Judges of *England* in the Exchequer Chamber, and by much the major part of them, the King's Right to Impose asserted, and the Tax adjudg'd Lawful; which Judgement prov'd of more advantage, and credit to the Gentleman condemn'd (Mr *Hambden*) than to the King's Service.

That of reviving Forrest Laws.

That of Ship-money.

FOR the better Support of these extraordinary ways, and to Protect the Agents, and Instruments, who must be employ'd in them, and to Discountenance, and Suppress all bold enquiries, and opposers, the Council-Table, and Star-Chamber enlarge their Jurisdictions to a vast extent, "holding (as *Thucydides* said of the *Athenians*) "for Honourable, that "which Pleased, and for Just, that which Profited; and being the Same Persons in several Rooms, grew both Courts of Law to determine Right, and Courts of Revenue to bring Money into the Treasury; the Council-Table by Proclamations enjoyning to the People what was not enjoyn'd by the

The Powers of the Council-Table and Star-Chamber enlarg'd.

Law,

Law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-Chamber cenſuring the breach, and diſobedience to thoſe Proclamations by very great Fines, and Impriſonment; ſo that any diſreſpect to any Acts of State, or to the Perſons of States-men, was in no time more penal, and thoſe Foundations of Right, by which Men valued their Security, to the apprehenſion and underſtanding of Wiſe men, never more in danger to be deſtroy'd.

And here I cannot but again take the liberty to ſay, that the Circumſtances, and Proceedings in thoſe new extraordinary caſes, ſtratagems, and impoſitions, were very Unpolitick, and even Deſtructive to the Services intended. And if the buſineſs of Ship-money, being an Impoſition by the State, under the notion of neceſſity, upon a proſpect of danger, which private Perſons could not modeſtly think themſelves qualify'd to diſcern, had been manag'd in the ſame extraordinary way as the Royal Loan (which was the impoſing the Five Subſidies after the ſecond Parliament ſpoken of before) was; Men would much eaſier have ſubmitted to it; as it is notoriouſly known, That Preſſure was born with much more chearfulneſs before the Judgement for the King, than ever it was after; Men before pleaſing themſelves with doing ſomewhat for the King's ſervice, as a teſtimony of their Affection, which they were not bound to do; many really believing the neceſſity, and therefore thinking the Burthen reaſonable; others obſerving, that the advantage to the King was of importance, when the damage to them was not conſiderable; and all aſſuring themſelves, that when they ſhould be weary, or unwilling to continue the Payment, they might reſort to the Law for relief, and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a Court of Law, as a Right, and found it, by ſworn Judges of the Law, adjudged ſo, upon ſuch grounds and reaſons as every Stander-by was able to ſwear was not Law, and ſo had loſt the pleaſure and delight of being Kind, and Dutiful to the King; and inſtead of Giving, were requir'd to Pay, and by a Logick that left no Man any thing which he might call his Own, they no more look'd upon it as the Caſe of One man, but the Caſe of the Kingdom, nor as an Impoſition laid upon them by the King, but by the Judges; which they thought themſelves bound in Conſcience to the Publick Juſtice not to Submit to. It was an obſervation long ago by *Thucydides*, "That Men are much more paſſio-
"nate for Injuſtice, than for Violence; becauſe, ſays he, the
"one coming as from an equal, ſeems Rapine; when the
"other proceeding from one ſtronger, is but the effect of
"neceſſity. So, when Ship-money was tranſacted at the Council-Board, they look'd upon it as a work of that Power

they were all oblig'd to truſt, and an effect of that Foreſight they were naturally to rely upon. Imminent Neceſſity, and publick Safety, were convincing perſwaſions; and it might not ſeem of apparent ill conſequence to them, that upon an emergent occaſion the Regal Power ſhould fill up an *hiatus*, or ſupply an Impotency in the Law. But when they ſaw in a Court of Law (that Law, that gave them Title to, and Poſſeſſion of all that they had) Reaſon of State urg'd as Elements of Law, Judges as Sharp-ſighted as Secretaries of State, and in the myſteries of State; Judgement of Law grounded upon matter of Fact, of which there was neither enquiry, nor proof; and no reaſon given for the payment of the thirty Shillings in queſtion, but what included the Eſtates of all the Standers-by, they had no reaſon to hope that Doctrine, or the Promoters of it, would be contain'd within any bounds; and it is no wonder that They who had ſo little reaſon to be pleas'd with their own condition, were no leſs ſollicitous for, or apprehenſive of, the inconveniencies that might attend any alteration.

And here the damage and miſchief cannot be expreſs'd, that the Crown and State ſuſtain'd by the deſerv'd reproach and infamy that attended the Judges, by being made uſe of in this, and like Acts of power; there being no poſſibility to preſerve the dignity, reverence, and eſtimation of the Laws themſelves, but by the integrity and innocency of the Judges. And no queſtion, as the exorbitancy of the Houſe of Commons, in the next Parliament, proceeded principally from their contempt of the Laws, and that contempt from the ſcandal of that Judgement: ſo the concurrence of the Houſe of Peers in that fury, can be imputed to no one thing more, than to the irreverence and ſcorn the Judges were juſtly in; who had been always before look'd upon There as the Oracles of the Law, and the beſt Guides to aſſiſt that Houſe in their opinions and actions: And the Lords now thought themſelves excus'd for ſwerving from the rules and cuſtoms of their Predeceſſors (who in altering, and making of Laws, in judging of Things and Perſons, had always obſerv'd the advice and judgement of thoſe Sages) in not asking queſtions of Thoſe whom they knew no body would believe; thinking it a juſt reproach upon them (who out of their Courtſhip had ſubmitted the difficulties, and myſteries of the Law, to be meaſur'd by the ſtandard of what they call'd General Reaſon, and explain'd by the Wiſdom of State) that They themſelves ſhould make uſe of the Licence which the Others had taught them, and determine that to be Law, which they thought to be reaſonable, or found to be convenient. If theſe men had preſerv'd the ſimplicity of their

Anceſtors, in ſeverely and ſtrictly defending the Laws, Other men had obſerv'd the modeſty of Theirs, in humbly and dutifully obeying them.

UPON this Conſideration it is very obſervable, that in the wiſdom of former times, when the Prerogative went higheſt (as very often it hath been ſwoln above any pitch we have ſeen it at in our times) never any Court of Law, very ſeldom any Judge, or Lawyer of reputation, was call'd upon to aſſiſt in an Act of Power; the Crown well knowing the moment of keeping Thoſe the objects of reverence, and veneration with the People: and that though it might ſometimes make ſallies upon them by the Prerogative, yet the Law would keep the People from any Invaſion of it, and that the King could never ſuffer, whilſt the Law, and the Judges were look'd upon by the Subject, as the *Aſylum* for their Liberties, and Security. And therefore you ſhall find the Policy of many Princes hath endur'd as ſharp animadverſions, and reprehenſions from the Judges of the Law, as their Piety hath from the Biſhops of the Church; as having no leſs influence upon the People, under the reputation of Juſtice, by the one, than under the tyes of Conſcience and Religion, by the other.

TO extend this conſideration of the form, and circumſtance of proceeding in Caſes of an unuſual nature a little farther; As it may be moſt behoveful for Princes in matters of Grace, and Honour, and in conferring of Favours upon their People, to tranſact the ſame as Publickly as may be, and by Themſelves, or their Miniſters to dilate upon it, and improve their luſtre by any addition, or eloquence of Speech (where, it may be, every kind word, eſpecially from the Prince himſelf, is look'd upon as a new bounty) ſo it is as requiſite in matters of judgement, puniſhment, and cenſure upon Things, or Perſons (eſpecially when the Caſe, in the nature of it, is unuſual, and the rules in Judging as extraordinary) that the ſame be tranſacted as Privately, and with as little noiſe, and pomp of words, as may be. For (as Damage is much ealier born, and ſubmitted to by generous minds, than Diſgrace) in the buſineſs of Ship-money and many other Caſes in the Star-Chamber, and at Council-Board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and inſolencies, in the Speeches, and Orations of the Judges, much more offenſive, and much more ſcandalous than the Judgements, and Sentences themſelves. Beſides that Mens minds and underſtandings were more inſtructed to diſcern the conſequence of things, which before they conſider'd not. And undoubtedly my Lord *Finch*'s Speech in the Exchequer-Chamber, made Ship-money much more abhorr'd, and formidable,

midable, than all the Commitments by the Council-Table, and all the Diſtreſſes taken by the Sheriffs in *England*: the major part of Men (beſides the common unconcernedneſs in other Mens ſufferings) looking upon thoſe Proceedings with a kind of applauſe to themſelves, to ſee other Men Puniſh'd, for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determin'd, when they found their own intereſt, by the unneceſſary Logick of that Argument, no leſs concluded than Mr *Hambden's*.

He hath been but an ill obſerver of the Paſſages of thoſe times we ſpeak of, who hath not ſeen many ſober Men, who have been clearly ſatisfied with the conveniency, neceſſity, and juſtice of many Sentences, depart notwithſtanding extreamly offended, and ſcandaliz'd with the grounds, reaſons, and expreſſions of Thoſe who inflicted thoſe cenſures; when they found Themſelves, thinking to be only Spectators of other Mens ſufferings, by ſome unneceſſary Inference or Declaration, in probable danger to become the next Delinquents.

They who look back upon the Council-Books of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Acts of the Star-Chamber then, ſhall find as high inſtances of Power, and Soveraignty upon the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, as can be ſince given. But the art, order, and gravity of thoſe Proceedings (where ſhort, ſevere, conſtant rules were ſet, and ſmartly purſued, and the party felt only the weight of the Judgement, not the paſſion of his Judges) made them leſs taken notice of, and ſo leſs grievous to the Publick, though as intolerable to the Perſon: whereas, ſince thoſe excellent rules of the Council-Board were leſs obſerv'd, and Debates (which ought to be in private, and in the abſence of the party concern'd, and thereupon the Judgement of the Table to be pronounc'd by one, without the interpoſition of others, or reply of the party) ſuffer'd to be publick, queſtions to be ask'd, paſſions diſcover'd, and opinions to be promiſcuouſly deliver'd; all advice, directions, reprehenſions, and cenſures of thoſe Places grew to be in leſs reverence, and eſteem: ſo that, beſides the delay, and interruption in diſpatch, the juſtice, and prudence of the Counſels did not many times weigh down the infirmity, and paſſion of the Counſellors; and both Suitors and Offenders return'd into their Country, with ſuch exceptions, and arguments againſt Perſons, as brought, and prepar'd much prejudice to whatſoever ſhould proceed from thence; and whatever Excuſes ſhall be made, or Arguments given, that upon ſuch extraordinary occaſions there was a neceſſity of ſome pains, and care to convince Men's underſtandings of the reaſons and grounds of their Proceeding (which, if what was done had been only *ad informandam Conſci-*

Conſcientiam without reproach, or penalty, might have been reaſonable) it is certain the inconvenience and prejudice, that grew thereby, was greater than the benefit: and the reaſons of the Judges being many times not the reaſons of the Judgement, thoſe might more ſatisfactorily, and more ſhortly have been put in the Sentence it ſelf, than ſpread in the Diſcourſes of the Cenſurers.

THESE Errors (for Errors they were in View, and Errors they are prov'd by the Succeſs) are not to be imputed to the Court, but to the Spirit, and Over-activity of the Lawyers themſelves; who ſhould more carefully have preſerv'd their Profeſſion, and its Profeſſors, from being profan'd by thoſe Services, which have rendred both ſo obnoxious to reproach. There were two Perſons of that Profeſſion, and of that time, by whoſe ſeveral, and diſtinct conſtitutions (the one knowing nothing of, nor caring for the Court; the other knowing, or caring for nothing elſe) thoſe Miſchiefs were introduc'd, Mr *Noy*, the Atturney General, and Sr *John Finch*, firſt, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.

Of Atturney General Noy.

THE Firſt upon the great fame of his Ability, and Learning (and he was very Able and Learned) was, by great induſtry and importunity from Court, perſwaded to accept that Place, for which all other Men labour'd (being the beſt, for Profit, that Profeſſion is capable of) and ſo he ſuffer'd himſelf to be made the King's Atturney General. The Court made no impreſſion upon his Manners; upon his Mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected Moroſity, which made him unapt to flatter other Men, yet even that Moroſity and Pride rendred him the moſt lyable to be groſly flatter'd himſelf, that can be imagin'd. And by this means the great Perſons, who ſteer'd the Publick Affairs, by admiring his Parts, and extolling his Judgement as well to his face, as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the Service, to be an Inſtrument in all their Deſigns; thinking that he could not give a clearer teſtimony, that his knowledge in the Law was greater than all other Mens, than by making that Law which all other Men believ'd Not to be ſo. So he moulded, framed, and purſued the odious and crying Project of Soap; and with his own hand drew, and prepar'd the Writ for Ship-money; both which will be the laſting monuments of his Fame. In a word, he was an unanſwerable inſtance, how neceſſary a good Education and knowledge of men is to make a wiſe man, at leaſt a man fit for buſineſs.

of Sr John Finch.

Sr *John Finch* had much that the other wanted, but nothing that the other had. Having led a free life in a reſtrain'd

fortune,

fortune, and having ſet up upon the ſtock of a good Wit, and natural Parts, without the ſuperſtructure of much knowledge in the Profeſſion by which he was to grow; he was willing to uſe thoſe Weapons in which he had moſt Skill, and ſo (being not unſeen in the affections of the Court, but not having reputation enough to guide, or reform them) he took up Ship-money where Mr *Noy* left it; and, being a Judge, carried it up to that pinacle, from whence he almoſt broke his own neck; having, in his Journey thither, had too much influence on his Brethren to induce them to concur in a Judgement they had all cauſe to repent. To which, his Declaration, after he was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, muſt be added, upon a Demurrer put in to a Bill before him, which had no other Equity in it, than an Order of the Lords of the Council; "that whilſt he was "Keeper, no man ſhould be ſo ſawcy as to diſpute thoſe Or-"ders, but that the Wiſdom of that Board ſhould be always "ground enough for Him to make a Decree in Chancery; which was ſo great an aggravation of the Exceſs of that Table, that it receiv'd more prejudice from that Act of unreaſonable Countenance and Reſpect, than from all the Contempt could poſſibly have been offer'd to it. But of this no more.

The Felicity of the Times before the long Parliament notwithſtanding ſome Invaſions on the Subject.

Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be accus'd of much Flattery in this Inquiſition) I muſt be ſo Juſt as to ſay, that, during the whole time that theſe Preſſures were exercis'd, and thoſe new and extraordinary Ways were run, that is, from the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the Fourth year, to the beginning of this Parliament, which was above twelve years, this Kingdom, and all his Majeſty's Dominions (of the Interruption in *Scotland* ſomewhat ſhall be ſaid in its due time and place) enjoy'd the greateſt Calm, and the fulleſt meaſure of Felicity, that any People in any Age, for ſo long time together, have been bleſs'd with; to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of *Chriſtendom*.

Compar'd with the times of Queen Elizabeth.

In this Compariſon I am neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for the Happy times of Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *James*. But for the former, the doubts, hazards, and perplexities, upon a total change and alteration of Religion, and ſome confident Attempts upon a farther alteration by Thoſe who thought the Reformation not carry'd far enough; the charge, trouble, and anxiety of a long continu'd War (how proſperous and ſucceſsful ſoever) even during that Queen's whole Reign; and (beſides ſome domeſtick ruptures into Rebellion, frequently into Treaſon; and beſides the blemiſh of an unparallel'd Act of Blood upon the Life of a Crown'd neighbour Queen and Ally) the fear, and apprehenſion of what

what was to come (which is one of the moſt unpleaſant kinds of Melancholy) from an unknown, at leaſt an unacknowledg'd Succeſſor to the Crown, clouded much of that Proſperity then, which now ſhines with ſo much ſplendor before our eyes in Chronicle.

AND for the other under King *James* (which indeed were excellent times, *bona ſi ſua norint*) the mingling with a Stranger Nation, formerly not very gracious with This; which was like to have more intereſt of Favour: the ſubjection to a Stranger Prince, whoſe nature and diſpoſition they knew not: the diſcovery of a Treaſon, the moſt prodigious that had ever been attempted, upon his firſt entrance into the Kingdom: the Wants of the Crown not inferior to what it hath ſince felt (I mean whilſt it ſate right on the head of the King) and the Preſſures upon the Subject of the ſame nature, and no leſs complain'd of: the Abſence of the Prince in *Spain*, and the ſollicitude that his Highneſs ſhould not be diſpos'd in Marriage to the Daughter of that Kingdom, rendred the Calm and Tranquillity of that time leſs equal, and pleaſant. To which may be added the Proſperity and Happineſs of the Neighbour Kingdoms not much inferior to that of this, which, according to the pulſe of States, is a great diminution of their health; at leaſt their Proſperity is much improv'd, and more viſible, by the Miſery, and Misfortunes of their Neighbours. *And with the times of King James.*

THE Happineſs of the times I now mention, was invidiouſly ſet off by this diſtinction, that every other Kingdom, every other State were entangled, and ſome almoſt deſtroy'd by the rage, and fury of Arms; thoſe who were engag'd in an ambitious Contention with their Neighbours, having the view and apprehenſions of the Miſeries, and Deſolation, which they ſaw other States ſuffer by a Civil War; whilſt the Kingdoms we now lament, were alone look'd upon as the Garden of the World; *Scotland* (which was but the Wilderneſs of that Garden) in a full, entire, and undiſturb'd Peace, which they had never ſeen; the rage and barbariſm of their Private Feuds being compos'd to the reverence, or to the awe of publick Juſtice; in a competency, if not in an exceſs of Plenty, which they had never hopes to ſee, and in a temper (which was the utmoſt that in thoſe days was deſir'd or hop'd for) free from Rebellion. *Ireland*, which had been a Spunge to draw, and a Gulph to ſwallow all that could be ſpar'd, and all that could be got from *England*, meerly to keep the reputation of a Kingdom, reduc'd to that good degree of Husbandry, and Government, that it not only Subſiſted of it ſelf, and gave this Kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increas'd the Re-

venue

venue of the Crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides a considerable advantage to the People by the Traffick, and Trade from thence; Arts, and Sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole Nation beginning to be so Civiliz'd, that it was a Jewel of great Lustre in the Royal Diadem.

WHEN these Outworks, were thus fortified, and adorn'd, it was no wonder if *England* was generally thought secure, with the advantages of its own Climate; the Court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess, and luxury; the Country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride, and wantonness of it; the Church flourishing with learned, and extraordinary Men, and (which other good times had in some degree wanted) supplied with Oyl to feed those Lamps; and the Protestant Religion more advanc'd against the Church of *Rome* by Writing (without prejudice to other Useful, and Godly labours) especially by those two Books of the late Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and of Mr *Chillingworth*, than it had been from the Reformation; Trade increas'd to that degree, that we were the Exchange of *Christendom* (the Revenue from thence to the Crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times) and the Bullion of neighbour Kingdoms brought to receive a Stamp from the Mint of *England*; Forreign Merchants looking upon nothing so much their own, as what they had laid up in the Warehouses of this Kingdom; the Royal Navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at Sea; and the reputation of the Greatness, and Power of the King, much more with Forreign Princes than any of his Progenitors: for those rough Courses, which made him perhaps less Lov'd at home, made him more Fear'd abroad; by how much the Power of Kingdoms is more reverenc'd than their Justice by their Neighbours: and it may be this Consideration might not be the least Motive, and may not be the worst Excuse for those Counsels. Lastly for a complement of all these Blessings, they were enjoy'd by, and under the Protection of a King, of the most Harmless disposition, the most exemplary Piety, the greatest Sobriety, Chastity, and Mercy, that any Prince hath been endow'd with (God forgive those that have not been Sensible of, and Thankful for those endowments) and who might have said, that which *Pericles* was proud of, upon his death-bed, concerning his Citizens, "that no *English*-man had ever worn a "Mourning Gown through His Occasion. In a word, many Wise men thought it a Time, wherein those two Adjuncts, which *Nerva* was Deified for uniting, *Imperium & Libertas*, were as well reconcil'd as is possible.

BUT

But all theſe Bleſſings could but enable, not compel us to be Happy. we wanted that ſenſe, acknowledgment, and value of our own Happineſs, which All but We had: and took pains to make, when we could not find, our ſelves Miſerable. There was in truth a ſtrange abſence of underſtanding in moſt, and a ſtrange perverſeneſs of underſtanding in the reſt: the Court full of Exceſs, Idleneſs, and Luxury; the Country full of Pride, Mutiny, and Diſcontent; every Man more troubl'd and perplex'd at that they call'd the Violation of one Law, than delighted or pleaſed with the Obſervation of all the reſt of the Charter; never imputing the increaſe of their receipts, revenue, and plenty, to the wiſdom, virtue, and merit of the Crown, but objecting every ſmall Impoſition to the Exorbitancy, and Tyranny of the Government; the growth of Knowledge and Learning being diſreliſh'd, for the Infirmities of ſome Learned Men, and the increaſe of Grace and Favour upon the Church more repin'd and murmur'd at, than the increaſe of Piety and Devotion in it, which was as viſible, acknowledg'd, or taken notice of; whilſt the Indiſcretion and Folly of one Sermon at *White-Hall* was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the Wiſdom, Sobriety, and Devotion of a hundred.

It cannot be denied but there was ſometimes Preach'd There Matter very unfit for the Place, and very ſcandalous for the Perſons, who preſum'd often to determine things out of the Verge of their own Profeſſion, and, *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, gave unto *Cæſar*, what *Cæſar* refus'd to receive, as not belonging to him. But it is as true (as was once ſaid by a Man fitter to be believ'd in that point than I, and one not ſuſpected for flattering of the Clergy) "that if the Ser-
"mons of thoſe times Preach'd in Court, were collected to-
"gether, and publiſh'd, the World would receive the beſt
"bulk of Orthodox Divinity, profound Learning, convincing
"Reaſon, natural powerful Eloquence, and admirable Devo-
"tion, that hath been Communicated in any Age ſince the
"Apoſtles time. And I cannot but ſay, for the honour of the King, and of Thoſe who were truſted by him in his Eccleſiaſtical collations (who have receiv'd but ſad rewards for their uprightneſs) in thoſe reproach'd, condemn'd times, there was not one Church-man, in any degree or favour, or acceptance (and this the Inquiſition, that hath been ſince made upon them, a ſtricter never was in any Age, muſt confeſs) of a ſcandalous Inſufficiency in Learning, or of a more ſcandalous condition of Life; but on the contrary, moſt of them of confeſs'd eminent Parts in Knowledge, and of virtuous and unblemiſh'd Lives. And therefore Wiſe Men knew, that That, which look'd like Pride in ſome, and like Petu-

lance

lance in others, would, by Experience in Affairs, and Converſation amongſt Men, both of which moſt of them wanted, be in time wrought off, or, in a new Succeſſion, reform'd, and ſo thought the vaſt advantage from their Learning, and Integrity, an ample recompence for any inconvenience from their Paſſion; and yet by the prodigious Impiety of thoſe times, the latter was only look'd on with Malice and Revenge, without any Reverence, or Gratitude for the former.

The King's first journey into Scotland *to be Crown'd there.*

WHEN the King found himſelf poſſeſs'd of all that Tranquility mention'd before, that he had no reaſon to apprehend any Enemies from abroad, and leſs any Inſurrections at home, againſt which no Kingdom in *Chriſtendom*, in the conſtitution of its Government, in the ſolidity of the Laws, and in the nature and diſpoſition of the People, was more Secure than *England*; that He might take a nearer view of thoſe great Bleſſings which God had pour'd upon him, He reſolv'd to make a Progreſs into the Northern parts of his Kingdom, and to be ſolemnly Crown'd in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, which he had never ſeen from the time he had firſt left it, when he was about two years old. In order to this Journey, which was made with great Splendour, and proportionable Expence, he added to the Train of his Court many of the greateſt Nobility, who increas'd the Pomp of the Court at their own Charge (for ſo they were requir'd to do) and ſeem'd with alacrity to ſubmit to the King's pleaſure, as ſoon as they knew his deſire; and ſo his Attendance in all reſpects was proportionable to the Glory of the greateſt King.

THIS whole Progreſs was made from the firſt ſetting out, to the end of it, with the greateſt Magnificence imaginable; and the higheſt exceſs of Feaſting was then introduced, or, at leaſt, Feaſting was then carried to a height it never had attain'd before, from whence it hardly declin'd afterwards, to the great damage and miſchief of the Nation in their Eſtates, and Manners. All Perſons of Quality and Condition, who liv'd within diſtance of the Northern Road, receiv'd the great Perſons of the Nobility with that Hoſpitality which became them; in which all coſt was employ'd to make their Entertainments ſplendid, and their Houſes capable of thoſe Entertainments. The King himſelf met with many Entertainments of that nature, at the charge of particular Men, who deſir'd the Honour of his Preſence, which had been rarely practiſed till then by the Perſons of the beſt Condition, though it hath ſince grown into a very inconvenient cuſtom. But when he paſs'd through *Nottingham-ſhire*, both King and Court were receiv'd, and entertain'd by the Earl of *New-Caſtle*, and at his own proper Expence, in ſuch a wonderful manner, and in ſuch an exceſs of Feaſting, as had ſcarce ever before been known

in

in *England*; and would be ſtill thought very prodigious, if the ſame Noble Perſon had not, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more ſtupendious Entertainment; which (God be thanked) though poſſibly it might too much whet the appetite of others to Exceſs, no Man ever after in thoſe days imitated.

THE great Offices of the Court, and principal Places of Attendance upon the King's Perſon, were then upon the matter equally divided between the *Engliſh* and the *Scots*; the Marquis of *Hamilton* Maſter of the Horſe, and the Earl of *Carliſle* firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and almoſt all the ſecond rank of Servants in that place, being of that Kingdom; ſo that there was as it were an Emulation between the two Nations, which ſhould appear in the greateſt Luſtre, in Cloaths, Horſes, and Attendance: and as they were (as is ſaid before) many of the principal Nobility of *England*, who attended upon the King, and who were not of the Court; ſo the Court was never without many *Scotiſh* Voluntiers, and their number was well increas'd upon this occaſion in Nobility and Gentry, who were reſolv'd to confute all thoſe who had believ'd their Country to be very poor.

The King's Magnificent Reception there:

THE King no ſooner enter'd *Scotland*, but all his *Engliſh* Servants and Officers yielded up their Attendance to thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who were admitted into the ſame Offices in *Scotland*, or had ſome Titles to thoſe Employments by the conſtitution of that Kingdom; as moſt of the great Offices are held by Inheritance; as the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox* was then High Steward, and High Admiral of *Scotland* by Deſcent, as Others had the like poſſeſſion of other Places; ſo that all the Tables of the Houſe, which had been kept by the *Engliſh* Officers, were laid down, and taken up again by the *Scots*, who kept them up with the ſame order, and equal ſplendour, and treated the *Engliſh* with all the freedom and courteſy imaginable; as all the Nobility of that Nation did, at their own Expence, where their Offices did not entitle them to Tables at the charge of the Crown, keep very noble Houſes to entertain their new Gueſts; who had ſo often, and ſo well entertain'd them: and it cannot be denied, the whole behaviour of that Nation towards the *Engliſh* was as generous, and obliging as could be expected; and the King appear'd with no leſs Luſtre at *Edenborough*, than at *White-Hall*; and in this Pomp his Coronation paſs'd with all the Solemnity, and evidence of publick Joy that could be expected, or that can be imagin'd; and the Parliament, then held, with no leſs demonſtration of Duty, paſs'd and preſented thoſe Acts which were prepar'd for them to the Royal Scepter; in which were ſome Laws reſtraining the extravagant Power of the Nobility,

which,

which, in many Cases, they had long exercis'd, and the diminution whereof they took very heavily, though at that time they took little notice of it; the King being absolutely advis'd in all the Affairs of that Kingdom then, and long before, and after, by the sole Counsel of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was, or at least, was then believ'd to be of the greatest Interest of any Subject in that Kingdom, of whom more will be said hereafter.

THE King was very well pleas'd with his Reception, and with all the Transactions there; nor indeed was there any thing to be blam'd, but the Luxury and vast Expence, which abounded in all respects of Feasting, and Cloaths with too much licence: which being imputed to the commendable zeal of the People, of all Conditions, to see their King amongst them, whom they were not like to see there again, and so their expence was to be but once made, no Man had cause to suspect any mischief from it: and yet the Debts contracted at that time by the Nobility, and Gentry, and the Wants and Temptations they found themselves expos'd to, from that unlimited Expence, did very much contribute to the kindling that Fire, which shortly after broke out in so terrible a Combustion: nor were the sparks of Murmur and Sedition then so well cover'd, but that many discerning Men discover'd very pernicious Designs to lurk in Their Breasts, who seem'd to have the most chearful Countenances, and who acted great parts in the Pomp, and Triumph. And it evidently appear'd, that They of that Nation, who Shin'd most in the Court of *England*, had the least Influence in their own Country, except only the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whose Affection to his Master was even then suspected by the Wisest Men in both Kingdoms; and that the immense Bounties the King, and his Father had scatter'd amongst those of that Nation, out of the Wealth of *England*, besides that he had sacrificed the whole Revenue of that Kingdom to Themselves, were not look'd upon as any benefit to that Nation, but as Obligations cast away upon particular Men; many of whom had with it wasted their own Patrimony in their Country.

Yet the Seeds of the succeeding Commotions then sown.

THE King himself observ'd many of the Nobility to endeavour to make themselves Popular by speaking in Parliament against those things which were most grateful to his Majesty, and which still pass'd notwithstanding their contradiction; and he thought a little Discountenance upon those Persons would either suppress that Spirit within themselves, or make the Poyson of it less operative upon others. But as those acts of Discountenance were too often believ'd to proceed from the displeasure of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by that means rather advanc'd, than depress'd them, so they had an

admirable

admirable dexterity in ſheltering themſelves from any of thoſe acts of Diſcountenance, which they had no mind to own; when it hath been viſible, and was then notorious, that many of the Perſons then, as the Earl of *Rothes*, and others, of whom the King had the worſt opinion, and from whom he purpoſely with-held any grace by never ſpeaking to them, or taking notice of them in the Court, yet when the King was abroad in the Fields, or paſſing through Villages, when the greateſt crouds of People flock'd to ſee him, thoſe Men would ſtill be next him, and entertain him with ſome diſcourſe, and pleaſant relations, which the King's gentle diſpoſition could not avoid, and which made thoſe Perſons to be generally believ'd to be moſt acceptable to his Majeſty; upon which the Lord *Falkland* was wont to ſay, "that keeping of State was like committing Adultery, there muſt go "Two to it: for let the proudeſt or moſt formal Man reſolve to keep what diſtance he will towards others, a bold and confident man inſtantly demoliſhes that whole Machine, and gets within him, and even obliges him to his own Laws of converſation.

THE King was always the moſt punctual obſerver of all Decency in his Devotion, and the ſtricteſt promoter of the Ceremonies of the Church, as believing in his Soul the Church of *England* to be inſtituted the neareſt to the Practice of the Apoſtles, and the beſt for the propagation and advancement of Chriſtian Religion, of any Church in the World: and on the other ſide, though no man was more averſe from the *Romiſh* Church than He was, nor better underſtood the motives of their Separation from us, and Animoſity againſt us, he had the higheſt diſlike, and prejudice to that part of his own Subjects, who were againſt the Government eſtabliſh'd, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous, and ſeditious People; who would under pretence of Conſcience, which kept them from ſubmitting to the Spiritual Juriſdiction, take the firſt opportunity, they could find, or make, to withdraw themſelves from their Temporal Subjection; and therefore he had, with the utmoſt vigilance, cauſed that Temper and Diſpoſition to be watch'd and provided againſt in *England*; and if it were then in truth there, it lurk'd with wonderful ſecrecy. In *Scotland* indeed it cover'd the whole Nation, ſo that, though there were Biſhops in Name, the whole Juriſdiction, and they Themſelves were, upon the matter, ſubject to an Aſſembly, which was purely Presbyterian; no Form of Religion in practice, no Liturgy, nor the leaſt appearance of any Beauty of Holineſs: The Clergy, for the moſt part, corrupted in their Principles; at leaſt, none countenanced by the great

Men, or favour'd by the People, but Such; though it muſt be own'd their Univerſities, eſpecially *Aberdeen*, flouriſh'd under many excellent Scholars, and very Learned men. Yet, though all the Cathedral Churches were totally neglected with reference to thoſe Adminiſtrations, over the whole Kingdom, the King's own Chapel at *Holy-rood-houſe* had ſtill been maintain'd with the comelineſs of the Cathedral Service, and all other Decencies uſed in the Royal Chapel; and the whole Nation ſeem'd, in the time of King *James*, well inclin'd to receive the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which that King exceedingly deſir'd, and was ſo confident of, that they who were Privy to his Counſels, in that time, did believe, the bringing that Work to paſs was the principal end of his Progreſs thither ſome years before his death; though he was not ſo well ſatisfy'd at his being there, two or three of the principal Perſons truſted by him in the Government of that Kingdom, dying in, or about that very time; but though he return'd without making any viſible attempt in that Affair, yet he retain'd ſtill the purpoſe and reſolution to his death to bring it to paſs. However, his two or three laſt years having been leſs pleaſant to him, by the Prince's voyage into *Spain*, the Jealouſies which, about that time, begun in *England*, and the high Proceedings in Parliament there, he thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend any proſecution of that Deſign, until a more favourable conjuncture, which he liv'd not to ſee.

Tranſactions about introducing a Liturgy into Scotland.

THE King his Son, who with his Father's other Virtues, inherited that Zeal for Religion, propos'd nothing more to himſelf, than to Unite his three Kingdoms in one Form of God's Worſhip, and publick Devotions; and there being now ſo great a Serenity in all his Dominions as is mention'd before, there is great reaſon to believe, that in this Journey into *Scotland* to be Crown'd, he carried with him the reſolution to Finiſh that important buſineſs in the Church at the ſame time. To that end, the then Biſhop of *London*, Dr *Laud*, attended on his Majeſty throughout that whole journey, which, as he was Dean of the Chapel, he was not oblig'd to do, and no doubt would have been excus'd from, if that Deſign had not been in view; to accompliſh which he was no leſs ſollicitous than the King himſelf, nor the King the leſs ſollicitous for his advice. He Preach'd in the Royal Chapel at *Edenborough* (which ſcarce any *Engliſh*-man had ever done before in the King's preſence) and principally upon the benefit of Conformity, and the reverend Ceremonies of the Church, with all the marks of approbation and applauſe imaginable; the great civility of that People being ſo notorious, and univerſal, that they would not appear unconformable

formable to his Majesty's wish in any particular. And many Wise Men were then, and still are of Opinion, that, if the King had Then propos'd the Liturgy of the Church of *England* to have been receiv'd and practised by that Nation, it would have been submitted to without opposition: but, upon mature consideration, the King concluded that it was not a good Season to promote that Business.

He had pass'd two or three Acts of Parliament, which had much lessen'd the Authority and Dependence of the Nobility, and great Men, and incens'd, and dispos'd them proportionably to cross, and oppose any Proposition, which would be most grateful; and that overthwart humour was enough discover'd to rule in the breasts of many, who made the greatest professions. Yet this was not the Obstruction which diverted the King: the Party that was averse from the thing, and abhorr'd any thought of Conformity, could not have been powerful enough to have stopp'd the progress of it; the mischief was, that They who most desir'd it, and were most concern'd to promote it, were the Men who used all their credit to divert the Present attempting it; and the Bishops themselves, whose Interest was to be most advanc'd thereby, apply'd all their Counsels secretly to have the matter more Maturely consider'd; and the whole design was never consulted but Privately, and only some few of the great Men of that Nation, and some of the Bishops advis'd with by the King, and the Bishop of *London*; it being manifest enough, that as the Finishing that great Affair must be very grateful to *England*, so the *English* must not appear to have a hand in the Contriving, and Promoting it.

The same Men, who did not only pretend, but really and heartily wish, that they might have a Liturgy to order, and regulate the Worship of God in their Churches, and did very well approve the Ceremonies establish'd in the Church of *England*, and desir'd to submit to, and practice the same there, had no mind that the Very Liturgy of the Church of *England* should be propos'd to, or accepted by them; for which they offer'd two prudential Reasons, as their Observations upon the nature, and humour of the Nation, and upon the Conferences they had often had with the Best Men upon that Subject, which was often agitated in discourse, upon what had been formerly projected by King *James*, and upon what frequently occurr'd to Wise men in Discourses upon the thing it self, and the desireableness of it.

The First was, that the *English* Liturgy, how piously and wisely soever fram'd, and instituted, had found great Opposition: and though the matter of the Ceremonies had wrought for the most part only upon Light-headed, Weak Men,

whose satisfaction was not to be labour'd for; yet there were many Grave, and Learned Men, who excepted against some Particulars, which would not be so easily answer'd; "That "the reading Psalms being of the old Translation were in "many particulars so different from the new and better "Translation, that many instances might be given of im- "portance to the Sence, and Truth of Scripture. They said somewhat of the same nature concerning the Translation of the Epistles, and Gospels, and some other Exceptions against reading the *Apocrypha*, and some other Particulars of less moment; and desir'd "that in forming a Liturgy for Their "Church, they might, by reforming those several Instances, "give satisfaction to Good Men, who would thereupon be "easily induced to submit to it.

THE other Reason, which no doubt was the principal, and took this in the way to give it the better introduction, was, "that the Kingdom of *Scotland* generally had been long "Jealous, that by the King's continued absence from them, "they should by degrees be reduced to be but as a Province "to *England*, and subject to their Laws, and Government, "which they would never submit to; nor would any Man "of Honour, who lov'd the King best, and respected *Eng-* "*land* most, ever consent to bring that Dishonour upon his "Country. If the very Liturgy, in the terms it is consti- "tuted, and practised in *England*, should be offer'd to them, "it would kindle, and inflame that Jealousy, as the Prologue, "and Introduction to that Design, and as the first Range of "that Ladder, which should serve to mount over all their "Customs, and Privileges, and be opposed, and detested "accordingly: whereas, if his Majesty would give order for "the preparing of a Liturgy, with those few desirable Al- "terations, it would easily be done; and in the mean time "They would so dispose the minds of the People for the re- "ception of it, that they should even desire it. This Expe- dient was so passionately, and vehemently urg'd even by the Bishops, that however they defer'd to the minds, and humours of other Men, it was manifest enough, that the Exception, and Advice proceeded from the pride of their own hearts.

THE Bishop of *London*, who was always present with the King at these Debates, was exceedingly troubled at this Delay, and to find those Men the Instruments in it, who seem'd to him as Sollicitous for the expedition, as Zealous for the thing it self, and who could not but Suffer by the deferring it. He knew well how far any Enemies to Conformity would be from being satisfy'd with those small Alterations, which being consented to, they would with more

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confidence, though leſs reaſon, frame other Exceptions, and inſiſt upon them with more obſtinacy. He foreſaw the Difficulties which would ariſe in rejecting, or altering, or adding to the Liturgy, which had ſo great Authority, and had, by the practice of near fourſcore years, obtain'd great Veneration from all ſober Proteſtants; and how much eaſier it would be to make Objections againſt any thing that ſhould be New, than againſt the Old; and would therefore have been very glad that the former Reſolution might be purſued; there having never been any thoughts in the time of King *James*, or the preſent King, but of the *Engliſh* Liturgy; beſides that any Variation from it, in how ſmall matters ſoever, would make the Uniformity the leſs, the Manifeſtation whereof was that which was moſt aim'd at, and deſir'd.

THE King had exceedingly ſet his Heart upon the matter, and was as much ſcandaliz'd as any Man at the Diſorder, and Indecency in the exerciſe of Religion in the Church: yet he was affected with what was offer'd for a little Delay in the execution, and knew more of the ill humour, and practices amongſt the Greateſt Men of the Kingdom at that ſeaſon, than the Biſhop did, and believ'd he could better compoſe, and reduce them in a little time, and at a diſtance, than at the preſent, and whilſt he was amongſt them. Beſides he was in his nature much inclin'd to the *Scotiſh* Nation, having been born amongſt them, and as Jealous, as any one of Them could be, of their Liberties and Privileges, and as Careful they might not be Invaded by the *Engliſh*, who, he knew, had no great reverence for them: and therefore the Objection, "that it would look like an Impoſition "from *England*, if a Form, ſettled in Parliament at *Weſt-* "*minſter*, ſhould without any Alteration be tender'd (though "by Himſelf) to be ſubmitted to, and obſerv'd in *Scotland*, made a deep Impreſſion in his Majeſty.

IN a word, he committed the Framing, and Compoſing ſuch a Liturgy, as would moſt probably be acceptable to that People, to a ſelect number of the Biſhops there, who were very able and willing to undertake it: and ſo his Majeſty return'd into *England*, at the time he had deſign'd, without having ever propos'd, or made the leaſt approach in Publick, towards any alteration in the Church.

IT had been very happy, if there had been then nothing done indeed, that had any reference to that Affair, and that, ſince it was not ready, nothing had been tranſacted to promote it, which accidentally alienated the Affections of the People from it; and what was done, was imputed to the Biſhop of *London*, who was like enough to be guilty of it; ſince he did really believe, that nothing more contributed to the

benefit, and advancement of the Church, than the promotion of Church-men to places of the greateſt Honour, and Offices of the higheſt Truſt: This opinion, and the Proſecution of it (though his Integrity was unqueſtionable, and his Zeal as great for the good and honour of the State, as for the advancement and ſecurity of the Church) was the unhappy Foundation of his own Ruin, and of the Prejudice towards the Church, the Malice againſt it, and almoſt the Deſtruction of it.

The King during his ſtay there erects the Biſhoprick of Edenborough.

DURING the King's ſtay in *Scotland*, when he found the conjuncture not yet ripe for perfecting that good Order, which he intended in the Church, he reſolv'd to leave a Monument behind him of his own Affection and Eſteem of it. *Edenborough* though the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the chief Seat of the King's own Reſidence, and the Place where the Council of State and the Courts of Juſtice ſtill remain'd, was but a Burrough Town within the Dioceſs of the Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, and govern'd in all Church Affairs by the Preachers of the Town; who, being choſen by the Citizens from the time of Mr *Knox* (who had a principal hand in the Suppreſſion of Popery, with circumſtances not very commendable to this day) had been the moſt Turbulent, and Seditious Miniſters of Confuſion, that could be found in the Kingdom; of which King *James* had ſo ſad experience, after he came to Age, as well as in his Minority, that he would often ſay, "that his acceſs to the Crown of *England* was the more "valuable to him, as it redeem'd him from the ſubjection to "the ill manners, and inſolent practices of thoſe Preachers, "which he could never ſhake off before. The King before his return from thence, with the full conſent, and approbation of the Arch-Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, erected *Edenborough* into a Biſhoprick; aſſign'd it a good and convenient Juriſdiction out of the neareſt limits of the Dioceſs of *Saint Andrews*, appointed the faireſt Church in the Town to be the Cathedral, ſettled a competent Revenue upon the Biſhop out of the Lands purchaſed by his Majeſty himſelf from the Duke of *Lenox*, who ſold it much the cheaper, that it might be Conſecrated to ſo Pious an end; and plac'd a very eminent Scholar of a good Family in the Kingdom, who had been Educated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, to be the firſt Biſhop in that his new City; and made another Perſon, of good Fame, and Learning, the firſt Dean of his new Cathedral, upon whom likewiſe he ſettled a proper Maintenance; hoping by this means the better to prepare the People of the Place, who were the moſt numerous, and richeſt of the Kingdom, to have a due reverence to Order, and Government, and, at leaſt, to diſcountenance, if not ſuppreſs the Factious Spirit

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of Presbytery, which had so long ruled there. But this Application little contributed thereunto: the People generally thought, that they had too many Bishops before, and so the increasing the number was not like to be very grateful to them.

THE Bishops had indeed very little Interest in the Affections of that Nation, and less Authority over it; they had not power to Reform, or Regulate their own Cathedrals, and very rarely shew'd themselves in the Habit, and Robes of Bishops; and durst not contest with the General Assembly in matters of Jurisdiction: so that there was little more than the Name of Episcopacy preserv'd in that Church. To redeem them from the Contempt, and to shew that they should be Considerable in the State, how little Authority soever they were permitted to have in the Church, the King made the Arch-Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, a Learned, Wise, and Pious Man, and of long Experience, Chancellour of the Kingdom (the greatest Office, and which had never been in the hands of a Church-man since the Reformation of Religion, and Suppressing the Pope's Authority) and four or five other Bishops of the Privy-Council, or Lords of the Session; which his Majesty presum'd, by their Power in the Civil Government, and in the Judicatories of the Kingdom, would render them so much the more Reverenced, and the better enable them to settle the Affairs of the Church: which fell out otherwise too; and it had been better that invidious Promotion had been suspended, till by their grave and pious Deportment they had wrought upon their Clergy to be better dispos'd to obey them, and upon the People to like order, and discipline; and till by these means the Liturgy had been settled, and receiv'd amongst them; and then the advancing some of them to greater Honour, might have done well.

His Majesty prefers some Bishops in Scotland to Secular Offices unseasonably.

BUT this unseasonable accumulation of so many Honours upon them, to which their Functions did not intitle them (no Bishop having been so much as a Privy-Counsellor in very many years.) expos'd them to the universal Envy of the whole Nobility, many whereof wish'd them well, as to their Ecclesiastical Qualifications, but could not endure to see them possess'd of those Offices, and Employments, which they look'd upon as naturally belonging to Themselves; and then the number of them was thought too great, so that they Overballanc'd many Debates; and some of them by want of temper, or want of breeding, did not behave themselves with that Decency in their Debates, towards the greatest Men of the Kingdom, as in discretion they ought to have done, and as the others reasonably expected from them: so that instead of bringing any Advantage to the Church, or facilitating the

good Intentions of the King in ſettling Order, and Government, it produc'd a more general Prejudice to it; though for the preſent there appear'd no ſign of Diſcontent, or ill Will to them: and the King left *Scotland*, as he believ'd, full of Affection, and Duty to him, and well inclin'd to receive a Liturgy, when he ſhould think it ſeaſonable to commend it to them.

The King's return, and the Death of Arch-Biſhop Abbot, 1633: *his Character.*

IT was about the end of *Auguſt* in the Year 1633, when the King return'd from *Scotland* to *Greenwich*; where the Queen kept her Court; and the firſt Accident of moment, that happen'd after his coming thither, was the Death of *Abbot* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; who had ſat too many years in that See, and had too great a Juriſdiction over the Church, though he was without any Credit in the Court from the Death of King *James*, and had not much in many years before. He had been Head or Maſter of one of the pooreſt Colleges in *Oxford*, and had Learning ſufficient for that Province. He was a Man of very Moroſe manners, and a very ſour aſpect, which, in that time, was call'd Gravity; and under the opinion of that Virtue, and by the recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the King's firſt *Scotch* Favourite, he was preferr'd by King *James* to the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and preſently after to *London*, before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of any Pariſh Church in *England*, or Dean, or Prebend of any Cathedral Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the State and Intereſt of the Clergy; as ſufficiently appear'd throughout the whole courſe of his Life afterward.

HE had ſcarce perform'd any part of the Office of a Biſhop in the Dioceſs of *London*, when he was ſnatch'd from thence, and promoted to *Canterbury*, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr *Bancroft*, that Metropolitan, who underſtood the Church excellently, and had almoſt reſcued it out of the hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much ſubdued the unruly Spirit of the Non-Conformiſts, by, and after the Conference at *Hampton-Court*; countenanc'd Men of the greateſt parts in Learning, and diſpos'd the Clergy to a more ſolid courſe of Study, than they had been accuſtom'd to; and, if he had liv'd, would quickly have extinguiſh'd all that Fire in *England*, which had been kindled at *Geneva*; or if he had been ſucceeded by Biſhop *Andrews*, Biſhop *Overal*, or any Man, who underſtood, and lov'd the Church, that Infection would eaſily have been kept out, which could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expell'd.

BUT *Abbot* brought none of this Antidote with him, and conſider'd Chriſtian Religion no otherwiſe, than as it abhorr'd, and reviled Popery, and valued thoſe Men moſt, who did

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That the moſt furiouſly. For the ſtrict obſervation of the Diſcipline of the Church, or the Conformity to the Articles, or Canons eſtabliſh'd, he made little enquiry, and took leſs care; and having himſelf made a very little progreſs in the Antient and Solid Study of Divinity, he adher'd only to the Doctrine of *Calvin*, and, for his ſake, did not think ſo ill of the Diſcipline as he ought to have done. But if Men prudently forbore a publick Reviling, and Railing at the Hierarchy, and Eccleſiaſtical Government, let their opinions, and private practice be what it would, they were not only ſecure from any inquiſition of his, but acceptable to him, and at leaſt, equally preferr'd by him. And though many other Biſhops plainly diſcern'd the Miſchiefs, which daily broke in to the Prejudice of Religion, by his defects and remiſsneſs, and prevented it in their own Dioceſſes as much as they could, and gave all their Countenance to Men of other Parts, and other Principles; and though the Biſhop of *London* Dr *Laud*, from the time of his Authority and Credit with the King, had applied all the Remedies he could to thoſe Defections, and, from the time of his being Chancellour of *Oxford*, had much diſcountenanced, and almoſt ſuppreſs'd that Spirit, by encouraging another kind of Learning, and Practice in that Univerſity, which was indeed according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; yet that temper in the Arch-Biſhop, whoſe Houſe was a Sanctuary to the moſt eminent of that Factious Party, and who Licens'd their moſt Pernicious Writings, left his Succeſſor a very difficult work to do, to Reform, and Reduce a Church into Order, that had been ſo long neglected, and that was ſo ill fill'd by many weak, and more willful Church-men.

Biſhop Laud *made Arch-Biſhop: his Character.*

IT was within one week after the King's return from *Scotland*, that *Abbot* died at his Houſe at *Lambeth*. The King took very little time to conſider who ſhould be his Succeſſor, but the very next time the Biſhop of *London* (who was longer on his way home than the King had been) came to him, his Majeſty entertain'd him very chearfully with this Compellation, *My Lord's Grace of* Canterbury, *you are very welcome*, and gave order the ſame day for the diſpatch of all the neceſſary forms for the Tranſlation: ſo that within a Month or thereabouts after the death of the other Arch-Biſhop, he was compleatly inveſted in that high Dignity, and ſettled in his Palace at *Lambeth*. This great Prelate had been before in great favour with the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe chief Confident he was, and by him recommended to the King, as fitteſt to be truſted in the conferring all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, when he was but Biſhop of *Saint Davids*, or newly preferr'd to *Bath* and *Wells*; and from that time he entirely

govern'd

govern'd that Province, without a Rival: ſo that his Promotion to *Canterbury* was long foreſeen, and expected; nor was it attended with any increaſe of envy, or diſlike.

He was a Man of great Parts, and very exemplary Virtues, allay'd and diſcredited by ſome unpopular natural Infirmities; the greateſt of which was (beſides a haſty, ſharp way of expreſſing himſelf) that he believ'd Innocence of Heart, and Integrity of Manners, was a guard ſtrong enough to ſecure any Man in his Voyage through this World, in what Company ſoever he travell'd, and through what Ways ſoever he was to paſs: and ſure never any Man was better ſupplied with that Proviſion. He was born of honeſt Parents, who were well able to provide for his Education in the Schools of Learning, from whence they ſent him to St *Johns* College in *Oxford*, the worſt Endow'd at that time of any in that Famous Univerſity. From a Scholar he became a Fellow, and then the Preſident of the College, after he had receiv'd all the graces, and degrees (the Proctorſhip, and the Doctorſhip) could be obtain'd there. He was always maligned, and perſecuted by thoſe who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their uſual maxim, and practice, call every Man they do not love, Papiſt; and, under this ſenſeleſs appellation, they created him many troubles, and vexations; and ſo far ſuppreſs'd him, that though he was the King's Chaplain, and taken notice of for an excellent Preacher, and a Scholar of the moſt Sublime Parts, he had not any Preferment to invite him to leave his poor College, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his Age was paſt: and when he was promoted by King *James*, it was but to a poor Biſhoprick in *Wales*, which was not ſo good a Support for a Biſhop, as his College was for a private Scholar, though a Doctor.

Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very buſy, and the Party, under which he had ſuffer'd a continual Perſecution, appear'd very powerful, and full of deſign, and They who had the Courage to Oppoſe them, begun to be taken notice of with approbation, and countenance: under this Style he came to be firſt cheriſh'd by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made ſome experiments of the Temper, and Spirit of the Other people, nothing to his ſatisfaction. From this time he proſper'd at the rate of his own wiſhes, and being Tranſplanted out of his cold barren Dioceſs of *Saint Davids*, into a warmer Climate, he was left, as was ſaid before, by that great Favourite in that great Truſt with the King; who was ſufficiently indiſpos'd towards the Perſons, or the Principles of *Calvin*'s Diſciples.

When he came into great Authority, it may be, he retain'd

tain'd too keen a memory of Thoſe who had ſo unjuſtly, and uncharitably Perſecuted him before; and I doubt, was ſo far tranſported with the ſame Paſſions he had reaſon to complain of in his Adverſaries, that, as they accus'd Him of Popery, becauſe he had ſome doctrinal Opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing ally'd to Popery; ſo he entertain'd too much prejudice to ſome Perſons, as if They were Enemies to the Diſcipline of the Church, becauſe they concurr'd with *Calvin* in ſome doctrinal Points; when they abhorr'd his Diſcipline, and reverenced the Government of the Church, and pray'd for the peace of it with as much Zeal, and Fervency as any in the Kingdom; as they made manifeſt in their Lives, and in their Sufferings with it, and for it. He had, from his firſt entrance into the World, without any diſguiſe, or diſſimulation, declar'd his own opinion of that *Claſſis* of Men, and, as ſoon as it was in his power, he did all he could to hinder the growth, and increaſe of that Faction, and to reſtrain Thoſe who were inclin'd to it, from doing the miſchief they deſir'd to do. But his Power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult Reformation, whilſt he had a Superior in the Church, who, having the Reins in his Hand, could Slacken them according to his own humour, and indiſcretion; and was thought to be the more remiſs, to irritate his cholerick diſpoſition. But when he had now the Primacy in his own hand, the King being inſpir'd with the ſame Zeal, he thought he ſhould be to blame, and have much to anſwer for, if he did not make haſt to apply Remedies to thoſe Diſeaſes, which he ſaw would grow apace.

IN the end of *September* of the Year 1633, he was inveſted in the Title, Power, and Juriſdiction of Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and entirely in poſſeſſion of the Revenue thereof, without a Rival in Church or State; that is, no Man Profeſs'd to oppoſe his Greatneſs; and he had never interpos'd or appear'd in Matters of State to this time. His firſt Care was, that the Place he was remov'd from, might be ſupplied with a Man who would be vigilant to pull up thoſe Weeds, which the *London* Soil was too apt to nouriſh, and ſo drew his old Friend and Companion Dr *Juxon* as near to him as he could. They had been Fellows together in one College in *Oxford*, and, when he was firſt made Biſhop of *Saint Davids*, he made him Preſident of that College: when he could no longer keep the Deanry of the Chapel-Royal, he made him his Succeſſor in that near Attendance upon the King: and now he was rais'd to be Arch-Biſhop, he eaſily prevail'd with the King to make the Other, Biſhop of *London*, before, or very ſoon after he had been Conſecrated Biſhop

Dr Juxon *made Biſhop of* London.

ſhop of *Hereford*, if he were more than Elect of that Church.

It was now a time of great Eaſe and Tranquillity; the King (as hath been ſaid before) had made himſelf Superior to all thoſe Difficulties and Streights he had to contend with the four firſt years he came to the Crown at Home; and was now Reverenced by all his Neighbours, who needed his Friendſhip, and deſir'd to have it; the Wealth of the Kingdom notorious to all the World, and the general Temper, and Humour of it, little inclin'd to the Papiſt, and leſs to the Puritan. There were ſome late Taxes and Impoſitions introduc'd, which rather angred than griev'd the People, who were more than repair'd by the Quiet, Peace, and Proſperity they enjoy'd; and the Murmur and Diſcontent that was, appear'd to be againſt the Exceſs of Power exerciſed by the Crown, and ſupported by the Judges in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. The Church was not repin'd at, nor the leaſt inclination to alter the Government, and Diſcipline thereof, or to change the Doctrine. Nor was there at that time any conſiderable number of Perſons of any valuable Condition throughout the Kingdom, who did wiſh either; and the cauſe of ſo prodigous a Change in ſo few years after was too viſible from the effects. The Arch-Biſhop's heart was ſet upon the advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the King's full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any oppoſition; and that he ſhould need no other aſſiſtance.

Warm contentions concerning thoſe call'd the Arminian *Points.*

Though the Nation generally, as was ſaid before, was without any ill Talent to the Church, either in the point of the Doctrine, or the Diſcipline, yet they were not without a jealouſy that Popery was not enough diſcountenanced, and were very averſe from admitting any thing they had not been uſed to, which they call'd Innovation, and were eaſily perſwaded, that any thing of that kind was but to pleaſe the Papiſts. Some doctrinal Points in Controverſy had been, in the late years, agitated in the Pulpits with more warmth and reflections, than had us'd to be; and thence the heat, and animoſity increas'd in Books *Pro* and *Con* upon the ſame Arguments: moſt of the popular Preachers, who had not look'd into the Ancient Learning, took *Calvin*'s word for it, and did all they could to propagate his Opinions in thoſe Points: They who had ſtudied more, and were better vers'd in the Antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, with the ſame heat and paſſion in Preaching and Writing, defended the contrary.

But becauſe in the late Diſpute in the *Dutch* Churches, thoſe Opinions were ſupported by *Jacobus Arminius*, the Divinity Profeſſor in the Uniuerſity of *Leyden* in *Holland*, the

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latter Men we mention'd, were call'd *Arminians*, though many of them had never read a word written by *Arminius*. Either ſide defended, and maintain'd the different Opinions as the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, as the two great Orders in the Church of *Rome*, the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, did at the ſame time, and had many hundred years before, with more vehemence and uncharitableneſs, maintain'd the ſame Opinions one againſt the other; either Party profeſſing to adhere to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, which had been ever wiſer than to determine the Controverſy. And yet that Party here, which could leaſt ſupport themſelves with Reaſon, were very ſollicitous, according to the Ingenuity they always practice to advance any of their Pretences, to have the People believe, that they who held with *Arminius* did intend to introduce Popery; and truly the other Side was no leſs willing to have it thought, that all who adher'd to *Calvin* in thoſe Controverſies, did in their Hearts likewiſe adhere to him with reference to the Diſcipline, and deſir'd to change the Government of the Church, deſtroy the Biſhops, and to ſet up the Diſcipline that he had eſtabliſh'd at *Geneva*; and ſo both Sides found ſuch reception generally with the People, as they were inclin'd to the Perſons; whereas, in truth, none of the one Side were at all inclin'd to Popery, and very many of the Other were moſt affectionate to the Peace and Proſperity of the Church, and very Pious, and Learned Men.

Arch-Biſhop Laud's Character continued.

THE Arch-Biſhop had, all his life, eminently oppoſed *Calvin's* Doctrine in thoſe Controverſies, before the name of *Arminius* was taken notice of, or his Opinions heard of; and thereupon for want of another Name, they had call'd him a Papiſt, which no body believ'd him to be, and he had more manifeſted the contrary in his Diſputations, and Writings, than moſt Men had done; and it may be the Other found the more ſevere, and rigorous Uſage from him, for their propagating that Calumny againſt him. He was a Man of great Courage and Reſolution, and being moſt aſſur'd within himſelf, that he propos'd no end in all his actions and deſigns, but what was Pious and Juſt (as ſure no man had ever a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his Country) he never ſtudied the eaſieſt ways to thoſe ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or induſtry that way would diſcredit, at leaſt make the Integrity of the end ſuſpected, let the cauſe be what it will. He did court Perſons too little; nor cared to make his deſigns, and purpoſes, appear as candid as they were, by ſhewing them in any other dreſs than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not conſider enough what men

ſaid,

ſaid, or were like to ſay of him. If the Faults, and Vices were fit to be look'd into, and diſcover'd, let the Perſons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were ſure to find no connivance of Favour from him. He intended the Diſcipline of the Church ſhould be felt, as well as ſpoken of, and that it ſhould be applied to the greateſt and moſt ſplendid Tranſgreſſors, as well as to the puniſhment of ſmaller Offences, and meaner Offenders; and thereupon call'd for, or cheriſh'd the Diſcovery of Thoſe who were not careful to cover their own Iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other Men, or their Power, or Will to chaſtiſe. Perſons of Honour, and great Quality, of the Court, and of the Country, were every day cited into the High-Commiſſion Court, upon the fame of their Incontinence, or other Scandal in their lives, and were there proſecuted to their Shame, and Puniſhment: and as the Shame (which they call'd an Inſolent Triumph upon their Degree and Quality, and levelling Them with the common People) was never forgotten, but watch'd for revenge; ſo the Fines impos'd there were the more queſtion'd, and repin'd againſt, becauſe they were aſſign'd to the rebuilding, and repairing St. *Paul's* Church; and thought therefore to be the more Severely impos'd, and the leſs Compaſſionately reduc'd and excus'd: which likewiſe made the juriſdiction and rigour of the Star-Chamber more felt, and murmur'd againſt, and ſharpen'd many mens humours againſt the Biſhops, before they had any ill Intention towards the Church.

Pryn, Burton, *and* Baſtwick.

THERE were three Perſons moſt notorious for their declar'd Malice againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops, in their ſeveral Books, and Writings, which they had publiſh'd to Corrupt the People, with circumſtances very Scandalous, and in language very Scurrilous, and Impudent; which all Men thought deſerv'd very exemplary Puniſhment: They were of the three ſeveral Profeſſions which had the moſt influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Phyſick; none of them of intereſt, or any eſteem with the worthy part of their ſeveral Profeſſions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach: yet when they were all Sentenced, and for the execution of that Sentence brought out to be Puniſh'd as common, and ſignal Rogues, expos'd upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the pooreſt, and moſt mechanick Malefactors uſed to be, when they were not able to redeem themſelves by any Fine for their Treſpaſſes, or to ſatisfy any damages for the Scandals they had rais'd againſt the good name, and reputation of others) Men begun no more to

conſider

consider their Manners, but the Men; and each Profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their Education, and Degrees, and Quality, would have secur'd them from such Infamous Judgements, and treasur'd up Wrath for the time to come.

THE remissness of *Abbot* and of other Bishops by his example, had introduced, or at least conniv'd at a Negligence, that gave great scandal to the Church, and no doubt offended very many Pious men. The People took so little care of the Churches, and the Parsons as little of the Chancels, that, instead of Beautifying, or Adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided against the falling of many of their Churches; and suffer'd them at least to be kept so indecently, and slovenly, that they would not have endur'd it in the ordinary offices of their own Houses; the Rain and the Wind to infest them; and the Sacraments themselves to be Administer'd where the People had most mind to receive them. This Prophane liberty and uncleanliness, the Arch-Bishop resolv'd to reform with all expedition, requiring the other Bishops to Concur with him in so Pious a Work; and the work sure was very grateful to all Men of Devotion: yet, I know not how, the Prosecution of it with too much affectation of Expence, it may be, or with too much Passion between the Ministers and the Parishioners, rais'd an evil Spirit towards the Church, which the Enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had an opportunity to make the worst use of it.

THE removing the Communion Table out of the body of the Church, where it had us'd to stand, and to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the Chancel, which frequently made the buying a new Table to be necessary, the incloſing it with a Rail of Joyners work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of Dogs, and all Servile uses; the obliging all Persons to come up to those Rails to receive the Sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent Persons, who lov'd Order and Decency (for acceptable it was to such) yet introduc'd first Murmurings amongst the People (upon the very Charge and Expence of it) and if the Minister were not a man of discretion and reputation to Compose, and Reconcile those Indispositions (as too frequently he was not, and rather inflam'd, and increas'd the Distemper) it begot Suits, and Appeals at Law. The opinion that there was no Necessity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too Much done, brought the Power and Jurisdiction that impos'd the doing of it, to be call'd in question, contradicted, and oppos'd. Then the manner, and gesture, and posture, in the Celebration of it,

brought

brought in new Diſputes, and adminiſter'd new ſubjects of Offence, according to the cuſtom of the Place, and humour of the People: and thoſe Diſputes brought in new words and terms (Altar, Adoration, and Genuflexion, and other expreſſions) for the more perſpicuous carrying on thoſe Diſputations. New Books were written for, and againſt this new Practice, with the ſame earneſtneſs, and contention for Victory, as if the Life of Chriſtianity had been at ſtake. Beſides, there was not an equal Concurrence, in the proſecution of this matter, amongſt the Biſhops themſelves; ſome of them proceeding more remiſsly in it, and ſome not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but reſtraining thoſe who had a mind to it, from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient Diſputes, when the Subordinate Clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of their Dioceſans, but expreſsly againſt their Injunctions, to make thoſe Alterations and Reformations themſelves, and by their own Authority.

THE Arch-Biſhop guided purely by his Zeal, and Reverence for the Place of God's Service, and by the Canons, and Injunctions of the Church, with the cuſtom obſerv'd in the King's Chapel, and in moſt Cathedral Churches, without conſidering the long intermiſſion, and diſcontinuance, in many other Places, proſecuted this Affair more Paſſionately than was fit for the Seaſon; and had Prejudice againſt Thoſe, who out of fear, or foreſight, or not underſtanding the Thing, had not the ſame Warmth to promote it. The Biſhops who had been preferr'd by his Favour, or hoped to be ſo, were at leaſt as Sollicitous to bring it to paſs in their ſeveral Dioceſſes; and ſome of them with more Paſſion, and leſs Circumſpection, than they had his Example for, or than he Approv'd; proſecuting thoſe who oppos'd them, very Fiercely, and ſometimes Unwarrantably, which was kept in Remembrance. Whilſt other Biſhops, not ſo many in number, or ſo valuable in weight, who had not been beholding to him, nor had hope of being ſo, were enough contented to give Perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to ſee the Execution of thoſe Orders not minded; and not the leſs pleas'd to find, that the Prejudice of that whole Tranſaction reflected ſolely upon the Arch-Biſhop.

THE Biſhop of *Lincoln* (*Williams*) who had heretofore been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and generally unacceptable whilſt he held that Office, was, ſince his diſgrace at Court, and proſecution from thence, become very Popular; and having ſeveral Faults objected to him, the Puniſhment whereof threaten'd him every day, he was very willing to change the Scene, and to be brought upon the

Stage

Stage for oppoſing theſe Innovations (as he call'd them) in Religion. It was an unlucky word, and couzen'd very many honeſt Men into apprehenſions very Prejudicial to the King, and to the Church. He publiſh'd a Diſcourſe and Treatiſe againſt the matter, and manner of the Proſecution of that Buſineſs; a Book ſo full of good Learning, and that Learning ſo cloſe, and ſolidly applied (though it abounded with too many light expreſſions) that it gain'd him reputation enough to be able to do Hurt; and ſhew'd that, in his retirement, he had ſpent his time with his Books very profitably. He us'd all the Wit, and all the Malice he could, to awaken the People to a jealouſy of theſe Agitations, and Innovations in the exerciſe of Religion; not without Inſinuations that it aim'd at greater Alterations, for which he knew the People would quickly find a name; and he was ambitious to have it believ'd, that the Arch-Biſhop was his greateſt Enemy, for his having conſtantly oppos'd his riſing to any Government in the Church, as a man, whoſe hot and haſty Spirit he had long known.

THOUGH there were other Books written with good learning, and which ſufficiently anſwer'd the Biſhop's book, and to men of equal, and diſpaſſionate Inclinations, fully vindicated the Proceedings which had been, and were ſtill very fervently carried on; yet it was done by Men whoſe names were not much reverenced, and who were taken notice of, with great inſolence and aſperity to undertake the Defence of all things which the People generally were Diſpleas'd with, and who did not affect to be much Cared for, by thoſe of their own Order. So that from this unhappy Subject, not in it ſelf of that important value to be either enter'd upon with that Reſolution, or to be carried on with that Paſſion, proceeded upon the matter a Schiſm amongſt the Biſhops themſelves, and a great deal of Uncharitableneſs in the Learned, and moderate Clergy, towards one another: which, though it could not increaſe the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the Enemies of the Church to do it hurt, and alſo to the number of them. For without doubt, many who lov'd the eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, and the Exerciſe of Religion as it was us'd, and deſir'd not a change in either, nor did diſlike the order and decency, which they ſaw mended, yet they lik'd not any Novelties, and ſo were liable to entertain Jealouſies that more was intended than was hitherto propos'd; eſpecially when thoſe Infuſions proceeded from Men unſuſpected to have any inclinations to Change, and known Aſſertors of the Government both in Church and State. They did obſerve the Inferior Clergy took more upon them than they were wont,

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and did not live towards their Neighbours of Quality, or their Patrons themſelves, with that Civility and Condeſcention, they had uſed to do; which diſpos'd Them likewiſe to a withdrawing their good Countenance, and good Neighbourhood from them.

THE Arch-Biſhop had not been long in that Poſt, when there was another great alteration in the Court by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, High Treaſurer of *England*; a man ſo jealous of the Arch-Biſhop's credit with the King, that he always endeavour'd to leſſen it by all the arts and ways he could; which he was ſo far from effecting, that, as it uſually falls out, when paſſion and malice make Accuſation, by ſuggeſting many particulars which the King knew to be Untrue, or believ'd to be no Faults, he rather confirm'd his Majeſty's judgement of him, and prejudiced his own reputation. His death cauſed no grief in the Arch-Biſhop; who was upon it, made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and Revenue, which he had reaſon to be ſorry for, becauſe it engag'd him in Civil buſineſs, and matters of State, wherein he had little experience, and which he had hitherto avoided. But being oblig'd to it now by his Truſt, he enter'd upon it with his natural earneſtneſs and warmth, making it his principal care to advance, and improve the King's Revenue, by all the ways which were offer'd, and ſo hearken'd to all Informations and Propoſitions of that kind; and having not had experience of that Tribe of people, who deal in that Traffick (a confident, ſenſeleſs, and for the moſt part a naughty people) he was ſometimes miſled by them, to think better of ſome Projects than they deſerv'd: but then he was ſo entirely devoted to what would be Beneficial to the King, that all Propoſitions and Deſigns, which were for the Profit (only or principally) of particular Perſons how Great ſoever, were oppos'd, and croſs'd, and very often totally ſuppreſs'd, and ſtifled in their birth, by his Power, and Authority; which created him Enemies enough in the Court, and many of Ability to do Miſchief, who knew well how to recompenſe Diſcourteſies, which they always call'd Injuries.

Upon the Earl of Portland's death the Arch-Biſhop made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

THE Revenue of too Many of the Court conſiſted principally in Encloſures, and Improvements of that nature, which He ſtill oppos'd paſſionately, except they were founded upon Law; and then, if it would bring Profit to the King, how old and obſelete ſoever the Law was, he thought he might juſtly adviſe the Proſecution. And ſo he did a little too much countenance the Commiſſion concerning Depopulation, which brought much charge and trouble upon the People, and was likewiſe caſt upon His account.

HE had obſerv'd, and knew it muſt be ſo, that the Principal

cipal Officers of the Revenue, who govern'd the affairs of Money, had always acceſs to the King, and ſpent more time with him in Private than any of his Servants, or Counſellors, and had thereby frequent opportunities to do Good, or ill offices to many men; of which He had Had Experience, when the Earl of *Portland* was Treaſurer, and the Lord *Cottington* Chancellor of the Exchequer; neither of them being his Friends; and the latter ſtill enjoying his Place, and having his former Acceſs, and ſo continuing a joint Commiſſioner of the Treaſury with him, and underſtanding that Province much better, ſtill Oppos'd, and commonly Carried every thing againſt him: ſo that he was Weary of the toil, and vexation of that Buſineſs; as all other men were, and ſtill are, of the Delays which are in all diſpatches in that Office, whilſt it is executed by Commiſſion.

Biſhop Juxon made Lord Treaſurer.

THE Treaſurer's is the greateſt Office of Benefit in the Kingdom, and the Chief in Precedence next the Arch-Biſhop's, and the Great Seal: ſo that the eyes of all men were at gaze who ſhould have this great Office; and the greateſt of the Nobility, who were in the chiefeſt Employments, look'd upon it as the Prize of one of them; ſuch Offices commonly making way for more Removes, and Preferments: when on a ſuddain the Staff was put into the hands of the Biſhop of *London*, a man ſo unknown, that his Name was ſcarce heard of in the Kingdom, who had been, within two years before, but a private Chaplain to the King, and the Preſident of a poor College in *Oxford*. This Inflam'd more men than were Angry before, and no doubt did not only ſharpen the edge of Envy and Malice againſt the Arch-Biſhop (who was the known Architect of this new Fabrick) but moſt unjuſtly Indiſpos'd many towards the Church it ſelf; which they look'd upon as the Gulph ready to ſwallow all the great Offices, there being Others in view, of that Robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the reſt.

IN the mean time the Arch-Biſhop himſelf was infinitely pleas'd with what was done, and unhappily believ'd he had provided a ſtronger Support for the Church; and never abated any thing of his Severity, and Rigour towards men of all conditions; or in the Sharpneſs of his language, and expreſſions, which was ſo natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without ſome Commotion, when the Argument was not of moment, nor bear Contradiction in debate, even in the Council, where all men are equally free, with that Patience, and Temper that was neceſſary; of which, They who wiſh'd him not well, took many Advantages, and would therefore Contradict him, that he might be tranſported with ſome Incident Paſſion; which, upon a ſhort recollection, he

was always Sorry for, and moſt readily, and heartily would make Acknowledgement. No man ſo willingly made unkind uſe of all thoſe Occaſions, as the Lord *Cottington*, who, being a maſter of Temper, and of the moſt profound Diſſimulation, knew too well how to lead him into a Miſtake, and then drive him into Choler, and then Expoſe him upon the matter, and the manner, to the judgement of the Company; and he choſe to do this moſt, when the King was preſent; and then he would Dine with him the next day.

THE King, who was exceſſively affected to Hunting, and the Sports of the Field, had a great deſire to make a great Park for Red, as well as Fallow Deer, between *Richmond* and *Hampton-Court*, where he had large Waſts of his own, and great parcels of Wood, which made it very fit for the uſe he deſign'd it to: but as ſome Pariſhes had Commons in thoſe Waſts, ſo, many Gentlemen, and Farmers, had good Houſes, and good Farms intermingled with thoſe Waſts of their own Inheritance, or for their Lives, or Years; and without taking of Them into the Park, it would not be of the largeneſs, or for the uſe propos'd. His Majeſty deſir'd to purchaſe thoſe Lands, and was very willing to buy them upon higher terms than the People could ſell them at to any body elſe, if they had occaſion to part with them; and thought it no unreaſonable thing, upon thoſe terms, to expect this from his Subjects; and ſo he employ'd his own Surveyor, and other of his Officers, to treat with the Owners, many whereof were his own Tenants, whoſe Farms would at laſt expire.

THE major part of the People were in a ſhort time prevail'd with, but many very obſtinately refus'd; and a Gentleman, who had the beſt Eſtate, with a convenient Houſe, and Gardens, would by no means part with it; and the King being as earneſt to compaſs it, it made a great noiſe, as if the King would take away mens Eſtates at his own pleaſure. The Biſhop of *London*, who was Treaſurer, and the Lord *Cottington*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were, from the firſt entring upon it, very averſe from the Deſign, not only for the murmur of the People, but becauſe the purchaſe of the Land, and the making a Brick-wall about ſo large a parcel of Ground (for it is near ten Miles about) would coſt a greater Sum of money, than they could eaſily provide, or than they thought ought to be ſacrificed to Such an occaſion: and the Lord *Cottington* (who was more ſollicited by the Country people, and heard moſt of their murmurs) took the buſineſs moſt to heart, and endeavour'd by all the ways he could, and by frequent importunities, to divert his Majeſty from purſuing it, and put all delays, he could well do, in the bargains which were to be made; till the King grew very angry with him,

and

and told him "he was reſolv'd to go through with it, and "had already cauſed Brick to be burn'd, and much of the "Wall to be built upon his own Land: upon which *Cottington* thought fit to acquieſce.

THE building the Wall before People conſented to part with their Land, or their Common, look'd to them as if by degrees they ſhould be ſhut out from both, and increas'd the murmur and noiſe of the People, who were not concern'd, as well as of them who were: and it was too near *London* not to be the common diſcourſe. The Arch-Biſhop (who deſir'd exceedingly that the King ſhould be poſſeſs'd as much of the Hearts of the People as was poſſible, at leaſt that they ſhould have no juſt Cauſe to complain) meeting with it, reſolv'd to ſpeak with the King of it; which he did; and receiv'd ſuch an Anſwer from him, that he thought his Majeſty rather not inform'd enough of the Inconveniencies, and Miſchiefs of the thing, than poſitively reſolv'd not to deſiſt from it. Whereupon one day he took the Lord *Cottington* aſide (being inform'd that he diſlik'd it, and, according to his natural cuſtom, ſpake with great warmth againſt it) and told him, "he ſhould do very well to give the King good "Counſel, and to withdraw him from a Reſolution, in which "his Honour, and Juſtice was ſo much call'd in queſtion. *Cottington* anſwer'd him very gravely, "that the thing deſign'd "was very Lawful, and he thought the King reſolv'd very "well, ſince the place lay ſo conveniently for his Winter Ex-"erciſe, and that he ſhould by it not be compell'd to make ſo "long Journeys, as he us'd to do, in that Seaſon of the year, "for his Sport, and that no body ought to diſſwade him "from it.

THE Arch-Biſhop inſtead of finding a Concurrence from him, as he expected, ſeeing himſelf Reproach'd upon the matter for his Opinion, grew into much Paſſion, telling him, "Such Men as he would Ruin the King, and make him "loſe the Affections of his Subjects; that for his own part, "as he had begun, ſo he would go on to diſſwade the King "from proceeding in ſo ill a Counſel, and that he hop'd it "would appear who had been his Counſellor. *Cottington* glad to ſee him ſo ſoon hot, and reſolv'd to inflame him more, very calmly reply'd to him, "that he thought a Man "could not, with a good Conſcience, hinder the King from "purſuing his Reſolutions, and that it could not but proceed "from want of Affection to his Perſon, and he was not ſure "that it might not be High Treaſon. The other, upon the wildneſs of his diſcourſe, in great anger ask'd him, "Why? "from whence he had receiv'd that doctrine? he ſaid, with the ſame Temper, "They who did not wiſh the King's health,

"could not love him; and they who went about to hinder "his taking Recreation, which preserv'd his health, might be "thought, for ought he knew, guilty of the highest Crimes. Upon which the Arch-Bishop in great Rage, and with many Reproaches left him, and either presently, or upon the next opportunity, told the King, "that he now knew who was his "great Counsellor for making his Park, and that he did not "wonder that Men durst not represent any Arguments to the "contrary, or let his Majesty know how much he Suffer'd "in it, when such Principles in Divinity, and Law, were laid "down to Terrify them; and so recounted to him the Conference he had with the Lord *Cottington*, bitterly inveighing against him, and his Doctrine, mentioning him with all the sharp Reproaches imaginable, and beseeching his Majesty "that His Counsel might not prevail with him, taking some pains to make his Conclusions appear very false, and Ridiculous.

THE King said no more, but, "My Lord, you are deceiv'd, "*Cottington* is too hard for you; upon my word he hath not "only diswaded me more, and given more Reasons against "this Business, than all the Men in *England* have done, but "hath really obstructed the Work by not doing his Duty, as "I commanded him, for which I have been very much dis-"pleased with him: you see how Unjustly your Passion hath "transported you. By which Reprehension he found how much he had been Abus'd, and Resented it accordingly.

WHATSOEVER was the Cause of it, this excellent Man, who stood not upon the advantage ground before, from the time of his Promotion to the Arch-Bishoprick, or rather from that of his being Commissioner of the Treasury, exceedingly provok'd, or underwent the Envy, and Reproach, and Malice of Men of all Qualities, and Conditions; who agreed in nothing else: all which, though well enough known to him, were not enough Consider'd by him, who believ'd, as most Men did, the Government to be so firmly Settled, that it could neither be Shaken from within, nor without, and that less than a general Confusion of Law and Gospel, could not hurt him; which was true too; but he did not Foresee how easily that Confusion might be brought to pass, as it prov'd shortly to be. And with this general Observation of the outward visible Prosperity, and the inward reserv'd disposition of the People to Murmur, and Unquietness, we Conclude this First Book.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

THE History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK II.

Pſal. LII. 2, 4.

Thy Tongue deviſeth Miſchiefs, like a ſharp Raſour, working deceitfully:
Thou loveſt all devouring words, O thou deceitful Tongue.

Pſal. LV. 21.

The words of his Mouth were ſmoother than Butter, but War was in his Heart: his words were ſofter than Oyl, yet were they drawn Swords.

Affairs in Scotland after the King's return thence, relating chiefly to the compoſing a Liturgy and Canons.

IT was towards the end of the Year 1633, when the King return'd from *Scotland*, having left it to the Care of ſome of the Biſhops there to provide ſuch a Liturgy, and ſuch a Book of Canons, as might beſt ſuit the Nature and Humour of the Better ſort of that People; to which the reſt would eaſily ſubmit: and that, as faſt as they made them ready, they ſhould tranſmit them to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to whoſe aſſiſtance the King joyn'd the Biſhop of *London*, and Doctor *Wren*, who, by that time, was become Biſhop of *Norwich*; a Man of a ſevere, ſour Nature, but very Learned, and particularly verſed in the old Liturgies of the *Greek*, and *Latin* Churches. And after his Majeſty ſhould be this way certified of what was ſo ſent, he would recommend, and enjoyn the Practice and Uſe of both to that his Native Kingdom. The Biſhops there had ſomewhat to do, before they went about the preparing the Canons, and the Liturgy; what had paſs'd at the King's being there in Parliament, had left bitter Inclinations, and unruly Spirits in many of the moſt Popular Nobility; who watch'd only for an opportunity to inflame the People,

and were well enough contented to see Combustible matter every day gather'd together, to contribute to that Fire.

THE promoting so many Bishops to be of the Privy-Council, and to sit in the Courts of Justice, seem'd at first wonderfully to facilitate all that was in design, and to create an Affection and Reverence towards the Church, at least an application to and dependence upon the greatest Churchmen. So that there seem'd to be not only a good preparation made with the People, but a general expectation, and even a desire that they might have a Liturgy, and more Decency observ'd in the Church. And this Temper was believ'd to be the more universal, because neither from any of the Nobility, nor of the Clergy, who were thought most averse from it, there appear'd any sign of Contradiction, nor that licence of Language against it, as was natural to that Nation; but an entire Acquiescence in all the Bishops thought fit to do; which was interpreted to proceed from a Conversion in their Judgement, at least to a Submission to Authority: whereas in truth, it appear'd afterwards to be from the observation they made of the Temper, and Indiscretion of those Bishops in the greatest Authority, that they were like to have more Advantages administer'd to them by Their ill Managery, than they could raise by any Contrivance of their own.

Touching the Scotish Canons.

IT was now two Years, or very near so much, before the Bishops in *Scotland* had prepar'd any thing to offer to the King towards their intended Reformation; and then they Inverted the proper method, and first presented a Body of Canons to precede the Liturgy, which was not yet ready, they choosing to finish the shorter work first. The King referr'd the consideration of the Canons, as he had before resolv'd to do, to the Arch-Bishop, and the other two Bishops formerly nam'd, the Bishop of *London*, and the Bishop of *Norwich*; who, after their perusal of them, and some Alterations made, with the consent of those Bishops who brought them from *Scotland*, return'd them to the King; and his Majesty, impatient to see the good work entred upon, without any other Ceremony (after having given his Royal approbation) issued out his Proclamation for the due Observation of them within his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

IT was a fatal Inadvertency that these Canons, neither before, nor after they were sent to the King, had been ever Seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, which was so strictly oblig'd to the Observation of them; nor so much as Communicated to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom; it being almost impossible that any new Discipline could be introduc'd into the Church, which would

not

not much concern the Government of the State, and even trench upon, or refer to the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom. And, in this consideration, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had always declar'd to the Bishops of *Scotland*; "that it was Their part to be sure, that nothing they should "propose to the King in the Business of the Church, should "be contrary to the Laws of the Land, which He could not "be thought to understand; and that they should never "put any thing in execution, without the consent and ap-"probation of the Privy-Council. But it was the unhappy Craft of those Bishops to get it believ'd by the King, that the work would be Grateful to the most considerable of the Nobility, the Clergy, and the People (which they could hardly believe) in order to the obtaining his Majesty's Approbation, and Authority for the execution of that, which they did really believe would not find Opposition from the Nobility, Clergy, or People, against his Majesty's express Power, and Will, which without doubt was then in great Veneration in that Kingdom; and so they did not, in truth, dare to submit those Canons to any other Examination, than what the King should direct in *England*.

IT was, in the next place, as strange, that Canons should be publish'd before the Liturgy was prepar'd (which was not ready in a year after, or thereabouts) when three or four of the Canons were principally for the Observation of, and punctual Compliance with the Liturgy; which all the Clergy were to be sworn to submit to, and to pay all Obedience to what was enjoyn'd by it, before they knew what it contain'd. Whereas if the Liturgy had been first publish'd with all due Circumstances, it is possible that it might have found a better Reception, and the Canons have been less examin'd,

THE *Scotish* Nation, how capable soever it was of being led by some Great Men, and misled by the Clergy, would have been corrupted by neither into a barefac'd Rebellion against their King, whose Person they lov'd, and reverenc'd his Government; nor could they have been wrought upon towards the lessening the one, or the other, by any other Suggestions, or Infusions, than such as should make them jealous, or apprehensive of a design to introduce Popery; a great part of their Religion consisting in an entire detestation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be Antichrist, and hating perfectly the Persons of all Papists.

THE Canons now publish'd, besides (as hath been touch'd before) that they had pass'd no Approbation of the Clergy, or been Communicated to the Council, appear'd to be so many new Laws impos'd upon the whole Kingdom by the

King's

King's ſole Authority, and contriv'd by a few Private Men, of whom they had no good opinion, and who were Strangers to the Nation; ſo that it was thought no other than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws from thence, of which they were moſt jealous, and which they moſt paſſionately abhorr'd. Then they were ſo far from being confin'd to the Church, and the matters of Religion, that they believ'd there was no part of their Civil Government uninvaded by them, and no Perſons of what Quality ſoever unconcern'd, and, as they thought, unhurt in them. And there were ſome things in ſome particular Canons, how rational ſoever in themſelves, and how diſtant ſoever in the words and expreſſions from inclining to Popery, which yet gave too much advantage to Thoſe who maliciouſly watch'd the occaſion, to perſwade Weak Men that it was an Approach, and Introduction to that Religion, the very Imagination whereof Intoxicated all Men, and depriv'd them of all faculties to Examine, and Judge.

SOME of the ſaid Canons defin'd, and determin'd ſuch an unlimited "Power, and Prerogative to be in the King, ac- "cording to the Pattern (in expreſs terms) of the Kings of "*Iſrael*, and ſuch a full Supremacy in all Caſes Eccleſiaſtical, "as hath never been pretended to by their former Kings, or "ſubmitted to by the Clergy, and Laity of that Nation; which made impreſſion upon Men of all tempers, humours, and inclinations; "And that no Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhould "become Surety, or Bound for any Man; that National, or "General Aſſemblies ſhould be call'd only by the King's Au- "thority; that all Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, who "dye without Children, ſhould be oblig'd to give a good "part of their Eſtates to the Church, and, though they ſhould "have Children, yet to leave ſomewhat to the Church, and "for advancement of Learning; which ſeem'd rather to be matter of State, and Policy, than of Religion; thwarted their Laws and Cuſtoms, which had been obſerv'd by them; leſſen'd, if not took away, the Credit of Church-men; and prohibited them from that liberty of Commerce in Civil Affairs, which the Laws permitted to them; and reflected upon the intereſt of Thoſe who had, or might have a right to Inherit from Clergy-men. "That none ſhould receive the Sa- "crament but upon their Knees; that the Clergy ſhould "have no private meetings for expounding Scripture, or for "conſulting upon Matters Eccleſiaſtical; that no Man ſhould "cover his head in the time of Divine Service; and that no "Clergy-man ſhould conceive Prayers *ex tempore*, but be "bound to pray only by the Form preſcrib'd in the Liturgy (which by the way was not ſeen nor fram'd) "and that no

"man

"man ſhould teach a publick School, or in a private Houſe, "without a Licence firſt obtain'd from the Arch-Biſhop of "the Province, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs.

ALL theſe were new, and things with which they had not been acquainted; and though they might be fit to be commended to a regular, and orderly People piouſly diſpoſed, yet it was too ſtrong meat for Infants in Diſcipline, and too much nouriſhment to be adminiſter'd at Once to weak, and queaſy Stomachs, and too much inclined to nauſeat what was moſt wholeſome. But then to apply the old terms of the Church, to mention "the *Quatuor tempora*, "and reſtrain all Ordinations to thoſe four Seaſons of the "Year; to enjoyn a Font to be prepar'd in every Church "for Baptiſm, and a decent Table for the Communion; and "to direct, and appoint the places where both Font and "Table ſhould ſtand, and decent Ornaments for either; to "reſtrain any Excommunication from being pronounced, or "Abſolution from being given, without the approbation of "the Biſhop; to mention any practice of Confeſſion (which they look'd upon as the ſtrongeſt, and moſt inſeparable Limb of Antichriſt) and to enjoyn "that no Presbyter ſhould re-"veal any thing he ſhould receive in Confeſſion, except in "ſuch caſes, where, by the Law of the Land, his own Life "ſhould be Forfeited; were all ſuch matters of Innovation, and in their nature ſo ſuſpicious, that they thought they had reaſon to be Jealous of the worſt that could follow; and the laſt Canon of all provided "that no Perſon ſhould be re-"ceiv'd into Holy Orders, or ſuffer'd to Preach, or Adminiſter "the Sacraments, without firſt Subſcribing to thoſe Canons.

IT was now eaſy for Them who had thoſe Inclinations, to ſuggeſt to Men of all conditions that here was an entire new Model of Government in Church and State; the King might do what he would upon them all, and the Church was nothing but what the Biſhops would have it be: which they every day infuſed into the minds of the People, with all the Artifices which adminiſter Jealouſies of all kinds to thoſe who were lyable to be diſquieted with them; yet they would not ſuffer (which ſhew'd wonderful power, and wonderful dexterity) any diſorder to break out upon all this occaſion, but all was quiet, except ſpreading of Libels againſt the Biſhops, and propagating that Spirit as much as they could, by their Correſpondence in *England*; where they found too many every day tranſported by the ſame Infuſions, in expectation that theſe Seeds of Jealouſy from the Canons would grow apace, and produce ſuch a Reception for the Liturgy as they wiſh'd for.

Touching the Scotish Liturgy.

IT was about the month of *July*, in the Year 1637, that the Liturgy (after it had been sent out of *Scotland*, and perused by the three Bishops in *England*, and then approv'd and confirm'd by the King) was Publish'd, and appointed to be Read in all the Churches. And in this particular there was the same affected and premeditated Omission, as had been in the preparation and publication of the Canons; the Clergy not at all consulted in it, and, which was more strange, not all the Bishops acquainted with it; which was less censur'd afterwards, when some of them renounced their Function, and became ordinary Presbyters, as soon as they saw the current of the time. The Privy-Council had no other notice of it, than all the Kingdom had; the Sunday before, when it was declar'd, "that the next Sunday the Liturgy should be "Read; by which they were the less concern'd to foresee, or prevent any Obstructions which might happen.

THE Proclamation had appointed it to be Read the *Easter* before, but the Earl of *Traquaire* High Treasurer of *Scotland* (who was the only Councellor or Layman relyed upon by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in that business) perswaded the King to defer it till *July*, that some good preparation might be made for the more chearful Reception of it. And as this pause gave the discontented Party more heart, and more time for their Seditious Negotiations, so the ill Consequence of it, or the Actions which were subsequent to it, made him suspected to be Privy to all the Conspiracy, and to be an Enemy to the Church; though in truth there neither appear'd then, nor in all the very unfortunate part of his life afterwards, any just ground for that accusation, and suspicion; but as he was exceedingly oblig'd to the Arch-Bishop, so he was a man of great Parts, and well affected to the Work in hand in his own judgement; and if he had been as much depended upon, to have advis'd the Bishops in the Prosecution, and for the Conduct of it, as he was to assist them in the carrying on whatsoever They propos'd, it is very probable, that either so Much would not have been undertaken together, or that it would have succeeded better; for he was without doubt not inferior to any of that Nation in Wisdom, and Dexterity. And though he was often provok'd, by the Insolence of some of the Bishops, to a Dislike of their overmuch Fervour, and too little Discretion, his Integrity to the King was without blemish, and his Affection to the Church so notorious, that he never deserted it, till both It and He were over-run, and trod under foot; and they who were the most notorious Persecutors of It, never left Persecuting Him to the Death.

NOR was any thing done which he had propos'd, for the better Adjusting things in the time of that Suspension, but

every

every thing left in the ſame ſtate of Unconcernedneſs as it was before; not ſo much as the Council's being better Inform'd of it; as if they had been ſure that all men would have Submitted to it for Conſcience ſake.

The manner how that Liturgy was receiv'd at Edenborough.

ON the Sunday morning appointed for the work, the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and others of the Council, being preſent in the Cathedral Church, the Dean begun to read the Liturgy, which he had no ſooner enter'd upon, but a noiſe and a clamour was rais'd throughout the Church, that no words could be heard diſtinctly, and then a ſhower of Stones, and Sticks, and Cudgels were thrown at the Dean's head. The Biſhop went up into the Pulpit, and from thence put them in mind of the Sacredneſs of the Place, of their Duty to God and the King; but he found no more Reverence, nor was the clamour and diſorder leſs than before. The Chancellor, from his Seat, commanded the Provoſt and Magiſtrates of the City to deſcend from the Gallery in which they ſate, and by their Authority to Suppreſs the Riot; which at laſt with great Difficulty they did, by driving the Rudeſt of thoſe who made the diſturbance out of the Church, and ſhutting the Doors, which gave the Dean opportunity to proceed in the reading of the Liturgy, that was not at all attended or hearken'd to by thoſe who remain'd within the Church; and if it had, they who were turn'd out continued their barbarous Noiſe, broke the Windows, and endeavour'd to break down the Doors; ſo that it was not poſſible for any to follow their Devotions.

WHEN all was done that at that time could be done there, and the Council and Magiſtrates went out of the Church to their Houſes, the Rabble follow'd the Biſhops with all the opprobrious language they could invent, of bringing in Superſtition and Popery into the Kingdom, and making the People Slaves; and were not content to uſe their Tongues, but employ'd their Hands too in throwing Dirt and Stones at them; and treated the Biſhop of *Edenborough*, whom they look'd upon as moſt Active that way, ſo Rudely, that with difficulty he got into a Houſe, after they had torn his Habit, and was from thence remov'd to his own, with great hazard of his Life. As this was the Reception it had in the Cathedral, ſo it far'd not better in the other Churches of the City, but was entertain'd with the ſame Hollowing and Outcries; and threatning the Men whoſe office it was to read it, with the ſame bitter Execrations againſt Biſhops and Popery.

HITHERTO no perſon of Condition or Name appear'd, or ſeem'd to countenance this ſeditious Confuſion; it was the Rabble, of which no body was named, and which is more ſtrange, not one apprehended: and it ſeems the Biſhops thought

thought it not of Moment enough to desire, or require any Help, or Protection from the Council; but without conferring with them, or applying themselves to them, they dispatch'd away an Express to the King, with a full and particular Information of all that had pass'd, and a desire that He would take that course he thought best for the carrying on his Service.

UNTIL this Advertisement arriv'd from *Scotland*, there were very few in *England* who had heard of any Disorders there, or of any thing done there which might produce any. The King himself had been always so jealous of the Privilege of that his Native Kingdom (as hath been touch'd before) and that it might not be dishonour'd by a suspicion of having any Dependence upon *England*, that he never suffer'd any thing relating to That to be Debated, or so much as Communicated to his Privy-Council in this (though many of that Nation were, without distinction, Counsellors of *England*) but handled all those affairs Himself with two or three *Scotsmen*, who always attended in the Court for the business of that Kingdom, which was upon the matter still dispatch'd by the sole advice and direction of the Marquis of *Hamilton*.

AND the truth is, there was so little curiosity either in the Court, or the Country, to know any thing of *Scotland*, or what was done there, that when the whole Nation was sollicitous to know what pass'd weekly in *Germany*, and *Poland*, and all other parts of *Europe*, no man ever enquir'd what was doing in *Scotland*, nor had that Kingdom a place or mention in one Page of any *Gazette*; and even after the Advertisement of this preamble to Rebellion, no mention was made of it at the Council-Board, but such a Dispatch made into *Scotland* upon it, as express'd the King's dislike and displeasure, and oblig'd the Lords of the Council there to appear more vigorously in the Vindication of his Authority, and Suppression of those Tumults. But all was too little. That People after they had once begun, pursued the business vigorously, and with all imaginable Contempt of the Government; and though in the Hubbub of the first day there appear'd no body of name or reckoning, but the Actors were really of the Dregs of the people, yet they discover'd by the countenance of that day, that few men of Rank were forward to engage themselves in the quarrel on the behalf of the Bishops; whereupon more considerable Persons every day appear'd against them, and (as heretofore in the case of St *Paul*, *Acts* 13. 50. *the Jews stir'd up the devout and honourable Women*) the Women and Ladies of the best Quality declar'd themselves of the Party, and, with all the reproaches imaginable, made war upon the Bishops, as introducers of Popery

pery and Superſtition, againſt which they avow'd themſelves to be irreconcilable Enemies; and their Husbands did not long defer the owning the ſame Spirit; inſomuch as within few days the Biſhops durſt not appear in the Streets, nor in any Courts, or Houſes, but were in danger of their lives; and ſuch of the Lords as durſt be in their company, or ſeem'd to deſire to reſcue them from violence, had their Coaches torn in pieces, and their Perſons aſſaulted, inſomuch as they were glad to ſend for ſome of thoſe great Men, who did indeed govern the Rabble, though they appear'd not in it, who readily came and redeem'd them out of their hands: ſo that by the time new Orders came from *England*, there was ſcarce a Biſhop left in *Edenborough*, and not a Miniſter who durſt read the Liturgy in any Church.

ALL the Kingdom flock'd to *Edenborough*, as in a general cauſe that concern'd their Salvation, and reſolv'd themſelves into a Method of Government, erected ſeveral Tables, in which deputies ſate for the Nobility, the Gentlemen, the Clergy, and the Burgeſſes; out of either of which Tables a Council was elected to conduct their affairs, and a Petition drawn up in the names of the Nobility, Lairds, Clergy, and Burgeſſes, to the King, complaining of the introduction of Popery, and many other Grievances. And if the Lords of the Council iſſued out any Order againſt them, or if the King himſelf ſent a Proclamation for their repair to their Houſes, and for the preſervation of the Peace, preſently ſome Nobleman deputed by the Tables publiſh'd a Proteſtation againſt thoſe Orders and Proclamations, with the ſame confidence, and with as much formality, as if the Government were regularly in Their hands.

The Scottiſh Covenant.

THEY call'd a General Aſſembly, whither they ſummon'd the Biſhops to appear before them, and for not appearing, Excommunicated them; and then they united themſelves by Subſcribing a Covenant, which they pretended, with their uſual confidence, to be no other than had been Subſcribed in the Reign of King *James*, and that his Majeſty himſelf had Subſcrib'd it; by which Impoſition people of all degrees, ſuppoſing it might be a means to Extinguiſh the preſent Fire, with all alacrity engag'd themſelves in it; whereas in truth, they had inſerted a Clauſe never heard of, and quite contrary to the End of that Covenant, whereby they oblig'd themſelves to purſue the Extirpation of Biſhops, and had the confidence to demand the ſame in expreſs terms of the King, in anſwer to a very gracious Meſſage the King had ſent to them. They publiſh'd bitter Invectives againſt the Biſhops, and the whole Government of the Church, which they were not contented to ſend only into *England* to

kindle

kindle the same Fire there, but, with their Letters, sent them to all the Reform'd Churches, by which they rais'd so great a Prejudice to the King, that too many of them believ'd, that the King had a real design to change Religion, and introduce Popery.

It is very true, there were very many of the Nobility, and Persons of principal Quality of that Nation, and in *Edenborough* at that time, who did not appear yet, and concur in this Seditious behaviour, or own their being yet, of their Party; but on the contrary seem'd very much to dislike their proceedings: but it is as true, that very few had the courage to do any thing in Opposition to them, or to concur in the Prosecution of any Regal Act against them; which did in some respects more advance their Designs, than if they had manifestly join'd with them. For these Men, many of whom were of the Council, by all their Letters into *England*, exceedingly undervalued the Disorder, as being "very easy to "be Suppress'd in a short time, when the Peoples eyes should "be open'd; and that the removing the Courts to some other "place, and a gracious condescension in the King in offering "Pardon for what was past; would suddainly Subdue them, "and every body would return to his Duty: and the City of *Edenborough* it self writ an humble Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, excusing the Disorders which had been rais'd by the Ignorance and Rudeness of the meanest of the People, and beseeching him "to intercede with his Ma-"jesty for the suspension of his Prejudice to them, till they "should manifest their Duty to him, by inflicting exemplary "Punishment upon the chief Offenders, and causing the Li-"turgy to be receiv'd, and submitted to in all their Churches; which they profess'd they would in a short time bring to pass. So that by this means, and the Interposition of all those of that Nation who attended upon his Majesty in his Bed-Chamber, and in several Offices at Court, who all undertook to know by their Intelligences that all was quiet, or would speedily be so; his Majesty (who well knew that they who appear'd most active in this Confederacy were much inferior to Those who did not appear, and who profess'd great Zeal for his Service) hardly prevail'd with himself to believe that he would receive any Disturbance from thence, till he found all his Condescensions had rais'd their Insolence, all his Offers rejected, and his Proclamation of Pardon slighted and contemn'd; and that they were Lifting men towards the raising an Army, under the obligation of their Covenant, and had already chosen Colonel *Lesly*, a Soldier of that Nation of long Experience and eminent Command under the King of *Sweden* in *Germany*, to be their General; who being lately

Disoblig'd

Diſoblig'd (as they call'd it) by the King, that is, denied ſomewhat he had a mind to have, had accepted of the Command. Then at laſt the King thought it time to reſort to other Counſels, and to provide Force to chaſtiſe them who had ſo much deſpiſed all his gentler Remedies.

He could now no longer defer the acquainting the Council-Board, and the whole Kingdom of *England*, with the Indignities he had ſuſtain'd in *Scotland*; which he did by Proclamations, and Declarations at large, ſetting out the whole Proceedings which had been; and in the end of the Year 1638; declar'd his Reſolution to raiſe an Army to Suppreſs their Rebellion; for which he gave preſent order.

And this was the firſt Alarm *England* receiv'd towards any Trouble, after it had enjoy'd for ſo many Years the moſt uninterrupted Proſperity, in a full and plentiful Peace, that any Nation could be bleſs'd with: and as there was no apprehenſion of trouble from Within, ſo it was ſecur'd from Without, by a ſtronger Fleet at Sea than the Nation had ever been acquainted with, which drew reverence from all the neighbour Princes. The Revenue had been ſo well improv'd, and ſo warily manag'd, that there was Money in the Exchequer proportionable for the undertaking any noble Enterpriſe: nor did this firſt noiſe of War, and approach towards Action, ſeem to make any impreſſion upon the Minds of men, the *Scots* being in no degree either Lov'd or Fear'd by the People; and moſt men hoped, that this would free the Court from being henceforth troubled with Thoſe men; and ſo they ſeem'd to embrace the Occaſion with notable alacrity: and there is no doubt, but if all of that Nation who were united in the Rebellion (ſome of which ſtaid yet in the Court) had march'd in their Army, and publickly Own'd the Covenant, which in their Hearts they ador'd, neither the King, nor the Kingdom, could have ſuſtain'd any great Damage by them; but the monument of their Preſumption and their Shame would have been raiſed together, and no other memory preſerv'd of their Rebellion but in their memorable Overthrow.

God Allmighty would not ſuffer this diſcerning Spirit of Wiſdom to govern at this time: the King thought it unjuſt to condemn a Nation for the tranſgreſſion of a part of it, and ſtill hoped to redeem it from the infamy of a General Defection, by the exemplary Fidelity of a Superior Party, and therefore withdrew not his Confidence from any of Thoſe who attended his Perſon, who, in truth, lay Leiger for the Covenant, and kept up the ſpirits of their Countrymen by Their intelligence.

The King raises an Army against the Scots:

THE King haſten'd the Raiſing an Army, which was not long in doing. He choſe to make the Earl of *Arundel* his General, a Man who was thought to be made choice of for his Negative Qualities: He did Not love the *Scots*; he did Not love the Puritans; which Qualifications were allay'd by another Negative, he did Not much love Any body elſe: but he was fit to keep the State of it; and his Rank was ſuch, that no man would decline the Serving under him.

THE Earl of *Eſſex* was made Lieutenant-General of the Army, the moſt Popular man of the Kingdom, and the Darling of the Sword-men; who, between a hatred and a contempt of the *Scots*, had nothing like an affection for any man of that Nation; and therefore was ſo well pleas'd with his Promotion, that he begun to love the King the better for conferring it upon him, and enter'd upon the province with great Fidelity and Alacrity, and was capable from that hour of any Impreſſion the King would have fix'd upon him.

THE Earl of *Holland* was General of the Horſe, who, beſides the Obligations he had to the Queen (who vouchſafed to own a particular truſt in him) was not then lyable to the leaſt Suſpicion of want of affection, and zeal for the King's Service.

IN the beginning of the Spring, which was in the Year 1639, an Army was drawn together of near ſix thouſand Horſe, and about that number in Foot, all very well diſciplin'd Men, under as good and experienced Officers, as were to be found at that time in *Chriſtendom*. With this Army abundantly ſupplied with a Train of Artillery, and all other Proviſions neceſſary, the King advanced in the beginning of the Summer towards the Borders of *Scotland*.

and a Fleet.

THIS was not all the Strength that was provided for the Suppreſſing that Rebellion, but the King had likewiſe provided a good Fleet, and had cauſed a body of three thouſand Foot to be embark'd on thoſe Ships; all which were put under the Command of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was to infeſt the Country by Sea to hinder their Trade, and to make a deſcent upon the Land, and join with ſuch Forces as the Loyal Party of that Nation ſhould draw together to aſſiſt the King's, which his Own intereſt (as was believ'd) would give great Life to, his Family being numerous in the Nobility, and united in an entire Dependence upon him.

The Earl of Eſſex poſſeſſes Berwick.

UPON the firſt March of the Army Northwards, the Earl of *Eſſex* was ſent with a party of Horſe and Foot, to uſe all poſſible expedition to poſſeſs himſelf of *Berwick*, which the King had been advertis'd the *Scots* would ſpeedily be Maſters of. The Earl loſt no time, but march'd day and night with great order and diligence; and every day met ſeveral

Scots-

Scots-men of Quality well known to him, and ſent expreſsly to the King, who all ſeverally made him very particular relations of the ſtrength of the *Scots* Army, the excellent Diſcipline that was obſerv'd in it, and the goodneſs of the Men, and that they were by that time poſſeſs'd of *Berwick*; and when he was within one day's March of it, a Perſon of principal Condition, of very near relation to the King's Service (who pretended to be ſent upon matter of high Importance to his Majeſty from Thoſe who moſt intended his Service there) met him, and advis'd him very earneſtly "not to "advance farther with his Party, which, he ſaid, "was ſo "much Inferior in number to thoſe of the Enemy, that it "would infallibly be cut off: that himſelf overtook the day "before a ſtrong Party of the Army, conſiſting of three thou-"ſand Horſe and Foot with a Train of Artillery, all which "he left at ſuch a Place (which he named) "within three "hours March of *Berwick*, where they reſolv'd to be the "Night before, ſo that his proceeding farther muſt be Fruit-"leſs, and expoſe him to inevitable Ruin. Theſe Advertiſements wrought no otherwiſe upon the Earl, than to haſten his Marches, inſomuch that he came to *Berwick* ſooner than he propos'd to have done, enter'd the Place without the leaſt Oppoſition, and by all the Enquiry he could make by ſending out Parties, and other Advertiſements, he could not diſcover that any of the Enemies Forces had been drawn that way, nor indeed that they had any conſiderable Forces together nearer than *Edenborough*.

THE Earl being thus poſſeſs'd of his Poſt, loſt no time in advertiſing the King of it, and ſent him a very particular account of the Informations he had receiv'd from ſo many Ear and Eye witneſſes, who were all at that time in the Court, and very fit to be ſuſpected after the publiſhing of ſo many Falſhoods; and theſe very Men had been conſtant in the ſame Reports, and as confident in reporting the Defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* and cutting off his Party, as they had been to Himſelf of the *Scots* March, and their being Maſters of *Berwick*. The Joy was not conceal'd with which his Majeſty receiv'd the News of the Earl's being in *Berwick*, the Contrary whereof thoſe Men made him apprehend with much Perplexity; but they underwent no other reproach for their Intelligence, than that their Fears had multiplied their Sight, and that they had been Frighted with other mens Relations; which Remiſsneſs, to call it no worſe, was an ill Omen of the Diſcipline that was like to be obſerv'd.

IF the War had been now vigorouſly purſued, it had been as ſoon ended as begun; for at this time they had not drawn three thouſand Men together in the whole Kingdom

of *Scotland*, nor had in truth Arms compleat for such a number, though They had the possession of all the King's Forts and Magazines there, nor had they Ammunition to supply their few Fire-Arms; Horses they had, and Officers they had, which made all their Shew. But it was the fatal Misfortune of the King, which proceeded from the Excellency of his Nature, and his Tenderness of Blood, that he Deferr'd so long his Resolution of using his Arms; and after he had taken that Resolution, that it was not Prosecuted with more Vigour.

He more intended the Pomp of his Preparations than the Strength of them, and did still believe that the one would save the labour of the other. At the same time that he resolv'd to raise an Army, he caused enquiry to be made, what Obligations lay upon his Subjects to assist him, both as he went himself in Person, and as it was an Expedition against the *Scots*; which, in the ancient Enmity between the two Nations, had been provided for by some Laws; and in the Tenure which many Men held their Estates by, he found that the Kings had usually, when they went to make War in their own Persons, call'd as many of the Nobility to attend upon them as they thought fit.

The King summons the English *Nobility to attend him.*

Thereupon he Summon'd most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, without any consideration of their Affections how they stood disposed to that Service, to Attend upon him by a day appointed, and throughout that Expedition; presuming that the glory of such a visible appearance of the whole Nobility, would look like such an Union in the Quarrel, as would at once Terrify and Reduce the *Scots*; not considering that such kinds of Uniting do often produce the greatest Confusions, when more and greater Men are call'd together than can be united in Affections and Interests; and in the necessary Differences which arise from thence, they quickly come to know each other so well, as they rather break into several Divisions, than Join in any one Publick interest; and from hence have always risen the most dangerous Factions, which have threaten'd and ruin'd the Peace of Nations: and it fell out no better here. If there had been none in the March but Soldiers, it is most probable that a noble Peace would have quickly ensued, even without Fighting; but the Progress was more illustrious than the March, and the Soldiers were the least part of the Army, and least consulted with.

In this Pomp the King continued his Journey to *York*, where he had a full Court, those Noblemen of the Northern Parts, and many others who overtook not the King till then, joining all in that City; where his Majesty found it necessary to stay some days; and there the Fruit, that was to be gather'd

gather'd from ſuch a Conflux, quickly budded out. Some Rules were to be ſet down for the Government of the Army; the Court was too Numerous to be wholely left to its own Licence; and the Multitude of the *Scots* in it, adminiſtred matter of Offence and Jealouſy to People of all Conditions, who had too much cauſe to fear that the King was every day betray'd; the common diſcourſe by all the *Scots* being either to magnify the good Intentions of their Country-men, and that they had all Duty for the King, or to undervalue the Power and Intereſt of Thoſe who diſcover'd themſelves againſt the Church.

It was therefore thought fit by the whole body of the Council, that a ſhort Proteſtation ſhould be drawn, in which all Men ſhould "profeſs their Loyalty and Obedience to his "Majeſty, and diſclaim and renounce the having any Intel-"ligence, or holding any Correſpondence with the Rebels. No Man imagin'd it poſſible that any of the *Engliſh* would refuſe to make that Proteſtation; and they who thought worſt of the *Scots*, did not think they would make any Scruple of doing the ſame, and conſequently that there would be no Fruit, or Diſcovery from that Teſt; but they were deceiv'd: the *Scots* indeed took it to a Man, without grieving their Conſcience, or reforming their Manners. But amongſt the *Engliſh* Nobility the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook* (two Popular Men, and moſt Undevoted to the Church, and, in truth, to the whole Government) poſitively refus'd in the King's own Preſence to make any ſuch Proteſtation. They ſaid, "If the King ſuſpected their Loyalty He might "proceed againſt them as he thought fit: but that it was "againſt the Law to impoſe any Oaths or Proteſtations upon "them which were not Enjoyn'd by the Law; and, in that "reſpect, that they might not betray the common Liberty, "they would not Submit to it. This adminiſtred matter of new Diſpute in a very unſeaſonable time; and though there did not then appear more of the ſame Mind, and they two were Committed, at leaſt Reſtrain'd of their Liberty, yet this diſcover'd too much of the Humour and Spirit of the Court in their daily diſcourſes upon that Subject; ſo that the King thought it beſt to diſmiſs thoſe two Lords, and require them to return to their Houſes: and if all the reſt who were not Officers of the Army, or of abſolute Neceſſity about the King's Perſon, had been likewiſe diſmiſs'd and ſent Home, the Buſineſs had been better Proſecuted.

Indeed if the King himſelf had ſtay'd at *London*, or, which had been the next beſt, kept his Court and reſided at *York*, and ſent the Army on their proper Errand, and left the matter of the War wholely to Them, in all human rea-

ſon, his Enemies had been ſpeedily Subdu'd; and that Kingdom Reduc'd to their Obedience.

BEFORE the King left *York*, Letters and Addreſſes were ſent from the *Scots*, "Lamenting their ill Fortune, that their "Enemies had ſo great Credit with the King, as to perſwade "him to believe that they were or could be Diſobedient to "him, a thing that could never enter into their Loyal Hearts; "that they deſir'd nothing but to be admitted into the Pre-"ſence of their Gracious Soveraign, to lay their Grievances "at his Royal Feet, and leave the Determination of them "entirely to his own Wiſdom and Pleaſure. And though the Humility of the Style gain'd them many Friends, who thought it great pity, that any Blood ſhould be ſpilt in a Contention which his Majeſty might put an end to by his own Word as ſoon as he would hear their Complaints, yet hitherto the King preſerv'd himſelf from being wrought upon, and march'd with convenient Expedition to the very Borders of *Scotland*, and Encamp'd with his Army in an open Field call'd *the Berkes*, on the further ſide of *Berwick*, and lodg'd in his Tent with the Army; though every day's March wrought very much upon the Conſtitution if not the Courage of the Court, and too many wiſh'd aloud, "that the Buſineſs were brought "to a fair Treaty.

The King goes to the Borders of Scotland *with his Army.*

UPON advertiſement that a Party of the *Scots* Army was upon the March, the Earl of *Holland* was ſent with a Body of three thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot, with a fit Train of Artillery, to meet it, and Engage with it; who March'd accordingly into *Scotland* early in a Morning as far as a Place call'd *Dunce*, ten or twelve Miles into that Kingdom. It was in the beginning of *Auguſt*, when the Nights are very ſhort, and, as ſoon as the Sun riſes, the Days for the moſt part hotter than is reaſonably expected from the Climate; and by the teſtimony of all Men that day was the hotteſt that had been known. When the Earl came with his Horſe to *Dunce*, he found the *Scots* drawn up on the ſide of a Hill, where the Front could only be in view, and where, he was inform'd, the General *Leſly* and the whole Army was; and it was very true, they were all there indeed; but it was as true, that all did not exceed the number of three thouſand Men, very ill Arm'd, and moſt Country Fellows, who were on the ſuddain got together to make that Shew; and *Leſly* had plac'd them by the advantage of that Hill ſo ſpeciouſly, that they had the appearance of a good Body of Men, there being all the ſemblance of great Bodies behind on the other ſide of the Hill; the falſehood of which would have been manifeſted as ſoon as they ſhould move from the place where they were, and from whence they were therefore not to ſtir.

Sends the Earl of Holland *as far as* Dunce.

THE Horſe had out-march'd the Foot, which, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat, was not able to uſe great Expedition: beſides there was ſome error in the Orders, and ſome accidents of the Night that had retarded them; ſo that when the Enemy appear'd firſt in view, the Foot and the Artillery was three or four Miles behind.

NOTHING can be ſaid in the Excuſe of the Counſel of that day, which might have made the King a glorious King indeed. The Earl of *Holland* was a Man of Courage, and at that time not at all ſuſpected to be corrupted in his Affections; and though he himſelf had not ſeen more of War than two or three Campaigns in *Holland* before his coming to the Court, he had with him many as good Officers as the War of that Age, which was very active, had made, and Men of unqueſtionable Courage and Military knowledge. As he might very ſafely have made a Halt at *Dunce* till his Foot and Artillery came up to him, ſo he might ſecurely enough have Engag'd his Body of Horſe againſt their Whole inconſiderable Army, there being neither Tree nor Buſh to interrupt his Charge; but it was thought otherwiſe; and no queſtion it was generally believ'd, by the placing and drawing out their Front in ſo conſpicuous a place, by the appearance of other Troops behind them, and by the ſhewing great herds of Cattle at a diſtance upon the Hills on either ſide, that Their Army was very much Superior in number. And therefore as ſoon as the Earl came in view, he diſpatch'd Meſſengers one after another to the King, with an account of what He heard and ſaw, or believ'd he ſaw, and yet thought not fit to ſtay for an Anſwer; but with the joint Conſent of all his chief Officers (for it was never after pretended that any one Officer of Name diſſwaded it, though they were ſtill aſham'd of it) Retir'd towards his Foot, to whom he had likewiſe ſent Orders not to Advance; and ſo Wearied and Tired by the length of the March, and more by the heat of the Weather, which was intolerable, they return'd to the Camp, where the King was; and the *Scots* drew a little back, to a more convenient Poſt for their reſidence.

The Earl's Retreat from Dunce.

THE Covenanters, who very well underſtood the Weakneſſes of the Court, as well as their own want of Strength, were very reaſonably exalted with this Succeſs, and ſcatter'd their Letters abroad amongſt the Noblemen at Court, according to the Humours of the Men to whom they writ; there being upon the matter an unreſtrain'd Intercourſe between the King's Camp and *Edenborough*.

THEY writ three ſeveral Letters to the three Generals, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Holland*. That to the Earl of *Eſſex* was in a dialect more Submiſs than to

The Covenanters write to the three General Officers.

to the others; they ſaid much to him of "his own Fame "and Reputation, which added to their Affliction that He "ſhould be in Arms againſt them; That they had not the "leaſt imagination of entring into War againſt *England*; "their only thought and hope was to defend their own Rights "and Liberties, which were due to them by the Law of the "Land, until they might have Acceſs to his Majeſty to ex- "poſe their Complaints to him, from which they were hin- "dred by the Power and Greatneſs of ſome of their own "Country-men; being deſirous the Earl ſhould underſtand that their principal Grievance was the Intereſt of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who, they knew, was not in any degree acceptable to the Earl; and therefore deſir'd him "to be ready "to do them good Offices to the King, that they might be "admitted to his Preſence. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who was a punctual Man in point of Honour, receiv'd this Addreſs ſuperciliouſly enough, ſent it to the King without returning any Anſwer, or holding any Conference, or performing the leaſt Ceremony, with or towards the Meſſengers.

THE Earls of *Arundel* and *Holland* gave another kind of Reception to the Letters they receiv'd. To the former, after many profeſſions of high Eſteem of his Perſon, they enlarg'd upon "their great Affection to the *Engliſh* Nation, and how "they abhorr'd the thought of a War between the two Na- "tions; they beſought him "to preſent their Supplication (which they inclos'd) "to the King, and to procure their "Deputies admiſſion to his Majeſty. The Earl us'd them with more Reſpect than was ſuitable to the Office of a General, and made many profeſſions of "his deſire to Interpoſe, "and Mediate a good Peace between the Nations: and it was confidently reported, and believ'd, that he had frequently made thoſe profeſſions by ſeveral Meſſages he had ſent before into *Scotland*; and he had given Paſſes to many obſcure Perſons, to go into and return out of that Kingdom.

THEIR Letter to the Earl of *Holland* was in a more Confident Style, as to a Man from whom they expected all good offices. They ſent him likewiſe a Copy of their Supplication to the King, and deſir'd him "to uſe his credit that a Treaty "might be entred into, and that his Majeſty would appoint "Men of Religion and of publick Hearts to manage the "Treaty. From this time that Earl was found at leaſt enough inclin'd to that Intereſt; and the King's readineſs to hear diſcourſes of a Pacification, and that Meſſengers would be ſhortly ſent to him with Propoſitions worthy of his Acceptation, abated thoſe Animoſities, and appetite to War, which had made all the noiſe in the March.

INDEED the Marquis of *Hamilton*'s Neighbourly reſidence

with his Fleet and Foot Soldiers before *Leith*, without any ſhew of Hoſtility, or any care taken to draw his Friends and Followers together for the King's Service; on the other ſide, the Viſits his Mother made him on Board his Ship, who was a Lady of great Authority amongſt the Covenanters, and moſt addicted to Them and their Covenant, her Daughters being likewiſe married to thoſe Noblemen who moſt furiouſly Perſecuted the Church, and Preſided in thoſe Councils; the King's refuſing to give leave to ſome Officers of Horſe, who had offer'd to make Inroads into the Country, and deſtroy the Stock thereof, whereby they would be preſently oblig'd to make Submiſſion, and to ask Pardon; and laſtly the reception of the Earl of *Holland* after his ſhameful Retreat, with ſo much Satisfaction and Joy as his Majeſty had manifeſted upon his return (having after the firſt Meſſengers arrival from *Dunce*, when the Enemy was in view, ſent him Orders not to Engage) made it then ſuſpected, as it was afterwards believ'd by Thoſe who ſtood neareſt, that his Majeſty had in truth never any purpoſe to make the War in Blood, but believ'd that by ſhewing an Army to them which was able to force them to any Conditions, they would have begg'd Pardon for the Conteſt they had made, and ſo he ſhould have ſettled the Church, and all things elſe according to his Pleaſure: and ſure he might have done ſo, if he had but ſate ſtill, and been conſtant to his own Intereſt, and poſitive in Denying their inſolent Demands. But the *Scots* in the Court had made Impreſſion upon ſo many of the *Engliſh* Lords, that though at that time there were very few of them who had entred into an unlawful Combination againſt the King, yet there was almoſt a general diſlike of the War, both by the Lords of the Court and of the Country; and they took this Opportunity to Communicate their Murmurs to each other; none of the Perſons who were moſt maligned for their Power and Intereſt with the King being upon the place; and all Men believing, that nothing could be ask'd of the King but what muſt be ſatisfied at their Charge, whoſe damage they conſider'd, though it was to be procur'd at the Expence of the King's Honour. When the Covenanters underſtood by their Intelligence, that the Seaſon was ripe, they ſent their Supplication (of which they had ſcatter'd ſo many Copies) to the King, and found themſelves ſo welcome to all Perſons, that their modeſty was not like to ſuffer any violence in offering the conditions.

They Addreſs to the King.

THE *Scots* had from the beginning, practiced a new ſturdy Style of Addreſs, in which, under the Licence of accuſing the counſel and carriage of Others, whom yet they never nam'd, they bitterly and inſolently Reproach'd the moſt immediate Actions and Directions of his Majeſty himſelf; and

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then made the greateſt profeſſions of Duty to his Majeſty's Perſon that could be invented. The King had not, at that time, one Perſon about him of his Council who had the leaſt conſideration of his own Honour, or Friendſhip for thoſe who ſat at the Helm of Affairs; The Duke of *Lenox* only excepted: who was a Young Man of ſmall Experience in Affairs, though a Man of great Honour, and very good Parts, and under the diſadvantage of being look'd upon as a *Scots*-man; which he was not in his Affections at all, being born in *England* of an *Engliſh* Mother, and having had his Edution there; and had indeed the Manners and Affections of an *Engliſh*-man, and a Duty and Reverence for the King and the Church accordingly; and would never truſt himſelf in thoſe Intrigues, as too myſterious for him.

THE reſt who were about the King in any Offices of attendance, were the Earl of *Holland*, whom we have had occaſion to mention before in the firſt entrance upon this Diſcourſe, and whom we ſhall have often occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of; and therefore ſhall ſay no more of him now, than that he neither lov'd the Marquis of *Hamilton*, whom he believ'd the *Scots* intended to Revenge themſelves upon; nor *Wentworth* the Deputy of *Ireland*; nor the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; nor almoſt any thing that was then done in Church or State. Secretary *Coke*, who had all the Diſpatches upon his hand, was near Eighty years of Age; a Man of gravity, who never had quickneſs from his Cradle; who lov'd the Church well enough as it was twenty years before; and underſtood nothing that had been done in *Scotland*, and thought that nothing that was, or could be done there, was worth ſuch a Journey as the King had put himſelf to. Sr *Harry Vane* was Comptroller of the Houſe, and a buſy and a buſtling Man; who had credit enough to do his buſineſs in all places, and cared for no Man otherwiſe than as he found it very convenient for himſelf. There was no other of his Council of name but the General the Earl of *Arundel*, who was always true to the Character under which he has been deliver'd, and thought he had been General long enough. All the Luſtre of the Court was in that part of the Nobility which attended upon Command, and at their own charge; and therefore the more weary of it. The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been forgotten, who abhorr'd the War as obſtinately as he lov'd Hunting and Hawking, and ſo was like to promote all Overtures towards Accommodation with great importunity: ſo the *Scots* found Perſons to treat with according to their Own wiſh. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſtill preſerving his Grandeur and Punctuality, poſitively Refus'd to meddle in the Treaty, or to be Communicated with, or ſo much as to be Preſent, or receive any Viſits from the

Scotiſh

Scotish Commissioners till after the Pacification was concluded.

THE Covenanters were firm, and adher'd still to their old natural Principle, even in this their Address; justified all they had done to be "according to their Native Rights, and for "the better advancement of his Majesty's Service, which they "had always before their Eyes; and desir'd "to have those "receive exemplary punishment, who had done them ill of- "fices and misrepresented their carriage to the King; and that "some Noble Lords might be appointed to treat upon all Par- "ticulars. And upon no other Submission than this, a Treaty was presently entred upon, and concluded.

A Treaty of Pacification entred upon and concluded.

WHOSOEVER will take upon him to relate all that pass'd in that Treaty, must be beholding to his own Invention: the most material matters having pass'd in discourse, and very little committed to Writing. Nor did any Two who were present agree in the same Relation of what was said, and done; and which was worse, not in the same Interpretation of the Meaning of what was comprehended in Writing. An Agreement was made, if that can be call'd an Agreement in which no body meant what others believ'd he did: "The "Armies were to be Disbanded; an Act of oblivion pass'd; "the King's Forts and Castles to be restor'd; and an Assem- "bly and Parliament to be call'd for a full Settlement; no "persons reserv'd for Justice, because no Fault had been com- "mitted. The King's Army, by the very words of the Agree- ment, was not to be disbanded until all should be executed on Their part; and the King himself, at that time, resolv'd to be present in the Assembly at least, if not in the Parliament: but the Impatience of all was such for Peace, that the King's Army was presently Disbanded; his Majesty making all pos- sible hast himself to *London*, and sending the Earl of *Traquaire* to *Edenborough* to prepare all things for the Assembly; whilst the *Scots* made all the Caresses to many of the *English*, and Both breath'd out in mutual confidence their Resentments to each other.

THE Marquis of *Hamilton* (whether upon the fame of the Treaty, or sent for by the King, few knew) left his Fleet be- fore *Leith* in a very peaceable posture, and came to *the Berkes* some hours after the Treaty was Sign'd; which was very convenient to Him, for thereby he was free from the Reproach that attended it, and at liberty to find Fault with it; which he did freely to the King, and to some Others, whereby he preserv'd himself in credit to do more Mischief. Many were then of opinion, and still are, that the Marquis at that time was very unacceptable to his Country-men; and it is certain that the chief Managers at the Treaty did perswade the *English* in whom they most confided, that their principal aim was

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to remove Him from the Court; which was a design willingly heard, and universally grateful. But whatever state of grace he stood in when he came thither, he did himself so good offices before he parted, that he was no more in their disfavour. The King's Army was presently Disbanded, and the *Scots* return'd to *Edenborough* with all they desir'd; having gotten many more Friends in *England* than they had before; kept all their Officers, and as many of their Men as they thought fit, in Pay; and Prosecuted all those, who had not shew'd the same Zeal in their Covenant as themselves, with great rigour, as Men whose Affections they doubted; and instead of Remitting any thing of their rage against their Bishops, they entred a publick Protestation, "That "they did not intend, by any thing contain'd in the Treaty, "to Vacate any of the Proceedings which had been in the "late General Assembly at *Glascow* (by which all the Bishops stood Excommunicated) and renew'd all their Menaces against them by Proclamation; and impos'd grievous penalties upon all who should presume to harbour any of them in their Houses: so that, by the time the King came to *London*, it appear'd plainly, that the Army was Disbanded without any Peace made, and the *Scots* in equal Inclination, and in more Reputation, to Affront his Majesty than ever. Upon which a Paper publish'd by Them, and avow'd to contain the matter of the Treaty, was Burn'd by the Common Hangman; every body disavowing the Contents of it, but no body taking upon him to publish a Copy that they own'd to be True.

The ill consequences of it.

THE Mischief that befel the King from this wonderful Atonement cannot be express'd, nor was it ever discover'd what prevail'd over his Majesty to bring it so wofully to pass: all Men were asham'd who had contributed to it, nor had he dismiss'd his Army with so obliging Circumstances as was like to incline them to come willingly together again, if there were occasion to use their Service. The Earl of *Essex*, who had merited very well throughout the whole Affair, and had never made a false step in Action or Counsel, was discharg'd in the Croud, without ordinary Ceremony; and an accident happening at the same time, or very soon after, by the death of the Lord *Aston*, whereby the Command of the Forrest of *Needwood* fell into the King's disposal, which lay at the very door of that Earl's Estate, and would infinitely have gratified him, was denied to him, and bestow'd upon Another: all which wrought very much upon his high Nature, and made him susceptible of some Impressions afterwards, which otherwise would not have found such easy admission.

THE Factions and Animosities at Court were either greater,

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or more visible, than they had been before. The Earl of *Newcastle* (who was Governour to the Prince, and one of the most valuable men in the Kingdom, in his Fortune, in his Dependence, and in his Qualifications) had, at his Own Charge, drawn together a goodly Troop of Horse of two hundred; which for the most part consisted of the best Gentlemen of the North, who were either Allied to the Earl, or of immediate Dependence upon him, and came together purely upon His account; and call'd this Troop *the Prince of Wales's Troop*; whereof the Earl himself was Captain. When the Earl of *Holland* march'd with that Party into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Newcastle* accompanied him with that Troop, and upon occasion of some Orders, desir'd that Troop, since it belong'd to the Prince of *Wales*, might have some Precedence; which the General of the Horse refus'd to grant him, but requir'd him to march in the rank he had prescrib'd; and the other obey'd it accordingly, but with resentment; imputing it to the little kindness that was between them. But as soon as the Army was Disbanded, he sent a Challenge to the Earl of *Holland*, by a Gentleman very punctual, and well acquainted with those Errands; who took a proper season to mention it to him, without a possibility of suspicion. The Earl of *Holland* was never suspected to want Courage, yet in This occasion he shew'd not that alacrity, but that the delay expos'd it to notice; and so, by the King's Authority, the matter was Compos'd; though discours'd of with liberty enough to give the whole Court occasion to express their Affections to either Party.

THE King himself was very Melancholick, and quickly discern'd that he had lost Reputation at home and abroad; and those Counsellors who had been most Faulty, either through want of Courage or Wisdom (for at that time few of them wanted Fidelity) never afterwards recover'd Spirit enough to do their Duty, but gave themselves up to Those who had so much Over-witted them; every man shifting the Fault from himself, and finding some Friend to excuse him: and it being yet necessary that so Infamous a matter should not be cover'd with absolute Oblivion, it fell to Secretary *Coke*'s turn (for whom no body cared) who was then near fourscore years of age, to be made the Sacrifice; and, upon pretence that he had Omitted the writing what he ought to have done, and Inserted somewhat he ought Not to have done, he was put out of his Office; and within a short time after, Sr *Harry Vane* (who was Treasurer of the House) by the Dark Contrivance of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, and by the open and visible Power of the Queen, made Secretary of State; which was the only thing that could make the Removal

moval of the other old man Cenſur'd and Murmur'd at: and this was attended again with a declar'd and unſeaſonable Diſlike and Diſpleaſure in the Queen againſt the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, newly made Earl of *Strafford*; who out of ſome kindneſs to the old man, who had been much truſted by him and of uſe to him, and out of contempt and deteſtation of *Vane*, but principally out of a deſire to have that Miſcarriage expiated by a greater Sacrifice, oppos'd the Removal of Secretary *Coke* with all the intereſt he could, got it Suſpended for ſome time, and put the Queen to the exerciſe of her full power to perfect her work; which afterwards produced many ſad Diſaſters. So that this unhappy Pacification kindled many Fires of Contention in Court and Country, though the Flame broke out firſt again in *Scotland*.

On the other ſide, the *Scots* got ſo much Benefit and Advantage by it, that they brought all their other miſchievous Devices to paſs, with eaſe, and a proſperous Gale in all they went about. They had before little Credit abroad in any Forreign parts, and ſo could procure neither Arms nor Ammunition; and though they could lead the People at Home, out of the hatred and jealouſy of Popery, into unruly Tumults, yet they had not Authority enough over them to engage them in a firm reſolution of Rebellion: the Opinion of their unqueſtionable Duty and Loyalty to the King, was that which had given them reputation to Affront him: nor durſt they yet attempt to lay any Tax or Impoſition upon the People, or to put them to any Charge. But, after this Pacification, they appear'd much more conſiderable abroad and at home; Abroad, where they were not ſo much conſider'd before, now that they had brought an Army into the Field againſt the King, and gain'd all they pretended to deſire without reproach or blemiſh, *France*, their old Ally, look'd upon them as good Inſtruments to diſturb their Neighbours; and Cardinal *Richlieu* (who had never look'd upon the Defeat and Overthrow at the Iſle of *Ree*, as any reparation for the Attempt and Diſhonour of the Invaſion) was very glad of the opportunity of Diſturbing the Reſt and Quiet, which had not been favourable to His deſigns; and ſent an Agent privately to *Edenborough*, to cheriſh and foment their Unpeaceable Inclinations; and receiv'd Another from thence, who ſollicited Supplies, and communicated Counſels: he ſent them Arms and Ammunition, and promiſed them Encouragement and Aſſiſtance proportionable to any Enterprize they ſhould frankly engage themſelves in. *Holland* enter'd into a cloſer correſpondence with them; and they found Credit there for a great ſtock of Arms and Ammunition, upon Security of payment within a Year; which Security they eaſily

eaſily found a way to give. And thus countenanced, and Supplied, they quickly got Credit and Power over the people at Home; and as ſoon as they had form'd ſome Troops of thoſe who had been liſted by them under good Officers (whereof ſtore reſorted to them of that Nation out of *Germany* and *Sweden*) and aſſign'd Pay to them, they made no longer ſcruple to Impoſe what Money they thought fit upon the People, and to levy it with all Rigour upon them who refuſed, or expreſs'd any unwillingneſs to ſubmit to the Impoſition; and made the Reſidence of any amongſt them very uneaſy, and very inſecure, who were but ſuſpected by them not to wiſh well to their Proceedings: and ſo they renew'd all thoſe Forms for the Adminiſtration of the Government, which they had begun in the beginning of the Diſorders, and which they diſclaim'd upon making the Pacification; and refus'd to ſuffer the King's Governour of the Caſtle of *Edenborough* (which was put into his hands about the ſame time) either to repair ſome Works which were newly fall'n down, or ſo much as to buy Proviſion in the Town for the food of the Garriſon.

BUT that which was the greateſt Benefit and Advantage that accrew'd to them from the Agreement, and which was worth all the reſt, was the Converſation they had with the *Engliſh* with ſo much Reputation, that they had perſwaded very many to believe, that they had all manner of Fidelity to the King, and had too much cauſe to complain of the hard Proceedings againſt them by the Power of ſome of their own Country-men; and the Acquaintance they made with ſome particular Lords, to that degree, that They did upon the matter agree what was to be done for the future, and how to obſtruct any Oppoſition or Proceedings by thoſe who were look'd upon as Enemies by both Sides. for none in *Scotland* more Diſliked all that was done in Court, and the chief Actors there, than Thoſe Lords of *England* did; though They were not ſo well prepar'd for an Expedient for the cure.

THE People of *Scotland* being now reduced by Them to a more implicit Obedience, and no body daring to oppoſe the moſt extravagant proceedings of the moſt violent perſons in Power, they loſt no time, as hath been ſaid, to make all preparations for a War they meant to purſue. Moſt of the King's Privy-Council and great Miniſters, who (though they had not vigorouſly perform'd their Duty in ſupport of the Regal Power) till now had been ſo reſerv'd that they ſeem'd not to approve the Diſorderly Proceedings, now as frankly wedded that Intereſt as any of the Leaders, and quickly became the Chief of the Leaders.

As

The Earl of Argyle joins with the Covenanters, notwithstanding his great Obligations to the King.

As the Earl of *Argyle*: who had been preſerv'd by the King's immediate Kindneſs and full Power, and reſcued from the Anger and Fury of his incenſed Father; who, being provok'd by the Diſobedience and Inſolence of his Son, reſolv'd ſo to have diſpoſed of his Fortune, that little ſhould have accompanied the Honour after his death. But by the King's interpoſition, and indeed impoſition, the Earl, in ſtrictneſs of the Law in *Scotland*, having need of the King's grace and protection, in regard of his being become Roman Catholick, and his Majeſty granting all to the Son which he could exact from the Father, the old Man was in the end compell'd to make over all his Eſtate to his Son; reſerving only ſuch a proviſion for Himſelf, as ſupported him according to his Quality during his Life, which he ſpent in the parts beyond the Seas. The King had too much occaſion afterwards to remember, that in the cloſe, after his Majeſty had determin'd what ſhould be done on either part, the old Man declar'd "He would ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure, "though he believ'd he was hardly dealt with; and then with ſome Bitterneſs put his Son in mind of his Undutiful carriage towards him; and charg'd him "to carry in his mind "how Bountiful the King had been to him, which yet, he told him, "he was ſure he would forget: and thereupon ſaid to his Majeſty "Sir, I muſt know this young Man better "than you can do; you have brought Me low, that you "may raiſe Him; which I doubt you will live to repent; "for he is a Man of craft, ſubtility, and falſhood, and can "love no Man; and if ever he finds it in his power to do "You miſchief, he will be ſure to do it. The King conſider'd it only as the effect of his Paſſion, and took no other care to prevent it, but by heaping every day new obligations upon him; making him a Privy-Counſellor, and giving him other Offices and Power to do Hurt, thereby to reſtrain him from doing it; which would have wrought upon any Generous Nature the Effect it ought to have done. The Earl (for his Father was now dead) came not to *Edenborough* during the firſt Troubles; and though he did not diſſemble his Diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops, becauſe one of them had Affronted him, in truth, very Rudely, yet he renew'd all imaginable profeſſions of Duty to the King and a readineſs to engage in his Service, if thoſe Diſorders ſhould continue: but after the Pacification, and Disbanding of the King's Army, and the Covenanters declaring that they would adhere to the Acts of the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, he made haſt to *Edenborough* with a great train of his Family and Followers; and immediately ſign'd the Covenant, engag'd for the proviſion of Arms, and raiſing Forces; and in all things behav'd himſelf

ſelf like a Man that might very ſafely be confided in by that Party.

THERE wanted not perſons ſtill who perſwaded the King "that all might yet be ended without Blood; that there were "great Diviſions amongſt the chief Leaders, through emu- "lations and ambition of Command; and that the acceſs of "the Earl of *Argyle* to that Party, would drive others as con- "ſiderable from it, who never did, nor ever would unite "with him in any deſign; and therefore advis'd "that his "Majeſty would require them to ſend ſome Perſons intruſted "by their Body to attend him, and give an account of the "Reaſons of their Proceedings. They demanded a ſafe Con- duct for the ſecurity of the Perſons they ſhould employ; which was ſent accordingly: and thereupon ſome perſons of the Nobility, and Others, were Commiſſion'd to wait on the King; amongſt which the Lord *Lowden* was principally re- ly'd on for his Parts and Abilities; a Man who was better known afterwards, and whom there will hereafter be ſo often occaſion to mention, as it will not be neceſſary in this place further to enlarge upon him. They behav'd themſelves, in all reſpects, with the Confidence of men employ'd by a For- reign State; refus'd to give any account but to the King him- ſelf; and even to Himſelf gave no other Reaſon for what was done, but the Authority of the doers, and the Neceſſity that required it; that is, that They thought it neceſſary; but then they Poliſh'd their ſturdy behaviour with all the pro- feſſions of Submiſſion and Duty, which their Language could afford.

AT this time the King happen'd to intercept a Letter which had been ſign'd by the chief of the Covenanters, and particularly by the Lord *Lowden*, written to the *French* King; in which they complain'd "of the Hardneſs and Injuſtice of "the Government that was exerciſed over them; put Him "in mind of the Dependence this Kingdom formerly had "upon that Crown; and deſir'd him now to take them into "his Protection, and give them Aſſiſtance; and that his "Majeſty would give entire credit to one *Colvil*, who was the "Bearer of that Letter, and well inſtructed in all Particu- "lars: and the Letter it ſelf was ſeal'd, and directed *Au Roy*; a ſtyle only uſed from Subjects to their natural King, This Letter being ſeen and peruſed by the Lords of the Council, and the Lord *Lowden* being examin'd, and refuſing to give any other anſwer, than "That it was writ before "the Agreement, and thereupon reſerv'd and never ſent; "that if he had committed any Offence, he ought to be "queſtion'd for it in *Scotland*, and not in *England*; and in- "ſiſting upon his ſafe Conduct, demanded liberty to return;

A Letter intercepted from ſome of the Scotiſh *Nobility to the* French *King.*

All Men were of opinion that ſo foul a Conſpiracy and Treaſon ought not to be ſo ſlightly excuſed; and that both the Lord *Lowden*, and *Colvil* (who was likewiſe found in *London*, and apprehended) ſhould be committed to the Tower; which was done accordingly; all Men expecting that they ſhould be brought to a ſpeedy Tryal.

THIS Diſcovery made a very deep Impreſſion upon the King; and perſwaded him that ſuch a foul Application could never have been thought of, if there had not been more Poyſon in the heart than could be expell'd by eaſy Antidotes; and that the ſtrongeſt Remedies muſt be provided to root out this Miſchief: thereupon he firſt adviſed with that Committee of the Council, which uſed to be conſulted in Secret affairs, What was to be done. That Summers action had waſted all the Money that had been carefully laid up; and to carry on that vaſt Expence, the Revenue of the Crown had been Anticipated; ſo that, though the raiſing an Army was viſibly neceſſary, there appear'd no means how to raiſe that Army. No Expedient occurr'd to them ſo proper as a Parliament, which had been now intermitted near twelve Years. And though thoſe Meetings had of late been attended by ſome Diſorders, the effects of Mutinous Spirits; and the laſt had been Diſſolv'd (as hath been ſaid before) with ſome circumſtances of Paſſion and Undutifulneſs, which ſo far Incenſed the King that he was leſs inclin'd to thoſe Aſſemblies; yet this long Intermiſſion, and the general Compoſure of Mens minds in a happy Peace, and univerſal Plenty over the whole Nation (ſuperior ſure to what any other Nation ever enjoy'd) made it reaſonably believ'd, notwithſtanding the murmurs of the People againſt ſome exorbitancies of the Court, that Sober men, and ſuch as lov'd the Peace and Plenty they were poſſeſs'd of, would be made choice of to ſerve in the Houſe of Commons; and then the temper of the Houſe of Peers was not to be apprehended: but eſpecially the opinion of the Prejudice and general Averſion over the whole Kingdom to the *Scots*, and the Indignation they had at Their preſumption in their deſign of Invading *England*, made it believ'd that a Parliament would expreſs a very ſharp ſenſe of their Inſolence and Carriage towards the King, and provide Remedies proportionable.

A Parliament call'd in England *to Sit in April 1640.*

UPON theſe Motives and Reaſons, with the unanimous Conſent and Advice of the whole Committee, the King reſolv'd to call a Parliament; which he communicated the ſame day, or rather took the reſolution that day, in his full Council of State, which expreſs'd great Joy upon it; and directed the Lord Keeper to iſſue out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament upon the Third day of *April* then next enſuing;

ſuing; it being now in the Month of *December*; and all expedition was accordingly uſed in ſending out the ſaid Writs, the notice of it being moſt Welcome to the whole Kingdom.

THAT it might appear that the Court was not at all apprehenſive of what the Parliament would, or could do; and that it was Conven'd by his Majeſty's grace and inclination, not by any motive of neceſſity; it proceeded in all reſpects in the ſame Unpopular ways it had done; Ship-money was levy'd with the ſame ſeverity; and the ſame rigour uſed in Eccleſiaſtical Courts, without the leaſt compliance with the humour of any Man; which look'd like Steadineſs; and, if it were Then well purſued, degenerated too ſoon afterwards.

IN this interval, between the ſealing of the Writs and the Convention of a Parliament, the Lord Keeper *Coventry* died; to the King's great detriment, rather than to his own. So much hath been ſaid already of this great Man, that there ſhall be no further enlargement in this place, than to ſay, that he was a very Wiſe and Excellent perſon, and had a rare Felicity, in being look'd upon generally throughout the Kingdom with great Affection, and ſingular Eſteem, when very few other men in any High Truſt were ſo; and it is very probable, if He had liv'd to the ſitting of that Parliament, when, whatever lurk'd in the Hearts of any, there was not the leaſt outward appearance of any irreverence to the Crown, that he might have had great Authority in the forming thoſe Counſels, which might have preſerv'd it from ſo unhappy a Diſſolution. His Loſs was the more manifeſt and viſible in his Succeſſor; the Seal being within a day or two given to Sr *John Finch*, Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas; a Man exceedingly obnoxious to the People upon the buſineſs of Ship-Money; and not of Reputation and Authority enough, to countenance and advance the King's Service.

The Lord Keeper Coventry dies.

Sir John Finch made Lord Keeper.

THESE Digreſſions have taken up too much time, and may ſeem Forreign to the proper ſubject of this Diſcourſe; yet they may have given ſome Light to the obſcure and dark paſſages of that Time, which were underſtood by very few.

The Parliament met April the Third, 1640.

THE Parliament met according to Summons upon the Third of *April* in the Year 1640, with the uſual Ceremony and Formality: and after the King had ſhortly mention'd "his deſire to be again acquainted with Parliaments, after "ſo long an intermiſſion; and to receive the advice and "aſſiſtance of his Subjects there; he referr'd the Cauſe of the preſent Convention to be enlarg'd upon by the Lord Keeper: who related the whole Proceedings of *Scotland*;

"his Majeſty's condeſcenſions the Year before, in disbanding "his Army upon their promiſes and profeſſions; their Inſo- "lencies ſince; and their Addreſs to the King of *France*, "by the Letter mention'd before; which the King had touch'd upon, and having forgot to make the Obſervation upon the Superſcription himſelf, he requir'd the Keeper to do it; who told them after the whole Relation, "That his "Majeſty did not expect Advice from them, much leſs that "They ſhould interpoſe in any office of Mediation, which "would not be Grateful to him; but that they ſhould, as "ſoon as might be, give his Majeſty ſuch a Supply, as he "might provide for the Vindication of his Honour, by raiſ- "ing an Army, which the Seaſon of the Year, and the Pro- "greſs the Rebels had already made, call'd for without de- "lay; and his Majeſty aſſur'd them, if they would gratify "him with the diſpatch of This matter, that he would give "them time enough afterwards to repreſent any Grievances "to him, and a favourable Anſwer to them: and ſo diſmiſs'd the Commons to chooſe their Speaker; to which Serjeant *Glanvile* was deſign'd, and choſen the ſame day: a man very equal to the work, very well acquainted with the proceed- ings in Parliament; of a quick conception, and of a ready and voluble expreſſion, dextrous in diſpoſing the Houſe, and very acceptable to them. The Earl of *Arundel*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, was made Lord Steward of the King's Houſe; an Office neceſſary in the beginning of a Parliament; being to ſwear all the Members of the Houſe of Commons before they could Sit there. Two days after, the Commons pre- ſented their Speaker to the King, who, in the accuſtom'd manner, approv'd their choice; upon which they return'd to their Houſe, being now form'd and qualify'd to enter upon any Debates.

Serjeant Glanvile choſen Speaker.

THE Houſe met always at eight of the Clock, and roſe at twelve; which were the old Parliament hours; that the Committees, upon whom the greateſt burden of the buſineſs lay, might have the afternoons for Their preparation and diſpatch. It was not the Cuſtom to enter upon any Impor- tant buſineſs, in the firſt Fortnight; both becauſe many Mem- bers uſed to be abſent ſo long; and that time was uſually thought neceſſary for the appointment and nomination of Committees, and for other Ceremonies and Preparations that were uſual: but there was no regard Now to that Cuſtom; and the appearance of the Members was very great, there having been a large time between the iſſuing out of the Writs and the meeting of the Parliament, ſo that all Elections were made, and return'd, and every body was willing to fall to the Work.

WHILST

WHILST Men gaz'd upon each other, looking who ſhould begin (much the greateſt part having never before ſate in Parliament) Mr *Pym*, a Man of good Reputation, but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in thoſe Aſſemblies as any Man then living, brake the Ice, and in a ſet Diſcourſe of above two hours, after mention of the King with the moſt profound reverence, and commendation of his Wiſdom and Juſtice, he obſerv'd, "That by the long "Intermiſſion of Parliaments many Unwarrantable things "had been practic'd, notwithſtanding the great Virtue of his "Majeſty: and then enumerated all the Projects which had been ſet on foot; and the illegal Proclamations which had been publiſh'd, and the Proceedings which had been upon thoſe Proclamations; the Judgement upon Ship-money; and many Grievances which related to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; ſumming up ſhortly, and ſharply, all that moſt reflected upon the Prudence, and the Juſtice of the Government; concluding, "That he had only laid that Scheme be-"fore them, that they might ſee how much work they had "to do to Satisfy their Country; the method and manner "of the doing whereof he left to their Wiſdoms. Mr *Grimſton* inſiſted only on the buſineſs of Ship-money; the irregular and prepoſterous engaging the Judges to deliver their Opinion to the King, and their being afterwards divided in their Judgements; and ſaid, "He was perſwaded, that They "who gave their Opinions for the Legality of it, did it againſt "the *dictamen* of their own Conſcience. *Peard*, a bold Lawyer, of little Note, inveigh'd more Paſſionately againſt it, calling it *an Abomination*: upon which, *Herbert*, the King's Sollicitor, with all imaginable addreſs, in which he then excell'd, put them in mind "with what Candour his Majeſty "had proceeded in That, and all Other things, which re-"lated to the adminiſtration of Juſtice to all his People; that, "how perſwaded ſoever He was within himſelf of the Juſtice "as well as Neceſſity of levying Ship-money, he would not ſend out a Writ for the doing thereof, till he receiv'd the "affirmative Advice of all the Judges of *England*; and when "the payment was Oppos'd by a Gentleman (and then he took occaſion to ſtroke and commend Mr *Hambden*, who ſate under him, for his great temper and modeſty in the proſecution of that Suit) "the King was very well contented that "all the Judges of *England* ſhould determine the Right; that "never any Cauſe had been debated and argued more So-"lemnly before the Judges; who, after long Deliberation "between themſelves, and being attended with the Records "which had been cited on both Sides, deliver'd each Man his "Opinion and Judgement publickly in the Court, and ſo

Mr Pym's and Others Speeches concerning Grievances.

"largely, that but two Judges argu'd in a day; and after all "this, and a Judgement with that Solemnity pronounc'd for "the King, by which the King was as legally poſſeſs'd of "that Right, as of any thing elſe he had; that any particu- "lar Man ſhould preſume to ſpeak againſt it with that bit- "terneſs, and to call it *an Abomination*, was very Offen- "ſive, and Unwarrantable; and deſired that That Gentle- "man, who had us'd that Expreſſion, might Explain him- "ſelf, and then withdraw. Very many call'd him to the Bar; and the Sollicitor's Diſcourſe was thought to have ſo much Weight in it, that Mr *Peard* very hardly eſcap'd a ſevere Reprehenſion: which is mention'd only that the Temper and Sobriety of that Houſe may be taken notice of, and their Diſſolution, which ſhortly after fell out, the more lamented.

THOUGH the Parliament had not ſate above ſix or ſeven days, and had manag'd all their Debates, and their whole Behaviour, with wonderful order and ſobriety, the Court was Impatient that no advance was yet made towards a Supply; which was foreſeen would take up much time, whenſoever they went about it, though never ſo cordially; and therefore they prevail'd with the Houſe of Peers, which was more entirely at the King's diſpoſal, that they would demand a Conference with the Houſe of Commons, and then propoſe to them, by way of advice, "that they would begin with "giving the King a Supply, in regard of the urgency and "even neceſſity of his Affairs, and afterwards proceed upon "the Grievances, or any thing elſe as they thought fit; and the Houſe of Peers accordingly did give their advice to this purpoſe at a Conference. This Conference was no ſooner reported in the Houſe of Commons, than their whole Temper ſeem'd to be ſhaken. It was the undoubted Fundamental privilege of the Commons in Parliament, that all Supplies ſhould have their riſe and beginning from Them; this had never been infring'd, or violated, or ſo much as queſtion'd in the worſt times; and that now after ſo long intermiſſion of Parliaments, that all Privileges might be forgotten, the Houſe of Peers ſhould begin with an action their Anceſtors never attempted, adminiſter'd too much cauſe of Jealouſy of ſomewhat elſe that was intended; and ſo with an unanimous conſent they declar'd it to be "ſo high a breach of Privi- "lege, that they could not proceed upon any other matter "until they firſt receiv'd Satisfaction and Reparation from "the Houſe of Peers; and which the next day they de- manded at a Conference. The Lords were ſenſible of their Error; which had been foreſeen, and diſſwaded by many of them; they "acknowledg'd the Privilege of the Commons as "fully

The Houſe of Peers adviſe the Commons to begin with a Supply:

This Voted a breach of Privilege by the Commons.

"fully as they demanded it, and hop'd that they had not broken "it by offering their advice to them without mentioning the "nature of the Supply, the proportion, or manner of raiſing "it, which they confeſs'd belong'd entirely to Them: in fine, they deſir'd them, "that this might be no occaſion of "waſting their time, but that they would proceed their "Own way, and in their own method, upon the affairs of "the Kingdom. This gave no ſatisfaction; was no reparation; and ſerv'd Their turn who had no mind to give any Supply without diſcovering any ſuch diſſatisfaction, which would have got them no credit, the Houſe generally being exceedingly diſpos'd to pleaſe the King, and to do him ſervice. But this Breach of Privilege, which was craftily enlarg'd upon as if it ſwallow'd up all their other Privileges, and made them wholely ſubſervient to the Peers, was univerſally reſented. A Committee was appointed to examine Precedents of former times, in caſe of violation of their Privileges by the Lords, though not of that magnitude, and thereupon to prepare a Proteſtation to be ſent up to the Houſe of Peers, and to be entred into their own Journal; and in the mean time no proceedings to be in the Houſe upon any publick buſineſs, except upon ſome report from a Committee.

The King's Propoſition to the Houſe of Commons.

AFTER ſome days had paſs'd in this manner, and it not being in view when this Debate would be at an end, the King thought of another expedient, and ſent a meſſage in writing to the Commons by Sr *Henry Vane*, who was now both Secretary of State and Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and at that time of good credit there; wherein his Majeſty took notice, "that there was ſome difference between the two Houſes, "which retarded the Tranſaction of the great affairs of the "Kingdom, at a time when a Forreign Army was ready to "invade it: That he heard the payment of Ship-money, "notwithſtanding that it was adjudged his right, was not "willingly ſubmitted to by the People; to manifeſt therefore "his good affection to his Subjects in general, he made this "Propoſition, That if the Parliament would grant him "twelve Subſidies to be paid in three Years, in the manner "propos'd (that was, five Subſidies to be paid the firſt Year, "four the ſecond, and three to be paid the laſt Year) his "Majeſty would then releaſe all his title of pretence to Ship-"money for the future, in ſuch a manner as his Parliament "ſhould adviſe.

THOUGH Exceptions might have been taken again in point of Privilege, becauſe his Majeſty took notice of the difference between the two Houſes; yet that Spirit had not Then taken ſo deep root: ſo that they reſolv'd to enter, the

next day after the delivery of it, upon a full Debate of his Majesty's message; they who desir'd to obstruct the giving any Supply, believing they should easily prevail to reject this Proposition, upon the greatness of the sum demanded, without appearing not to favour the Cause in which it was to be employ'd, which they could not have done with any advantage to themselves, the number of that Classis of men being then not considerable in the House. It was about the first day of *May* that the Message was deliver'd, and the next day it was resum'd about nine of the Clock in the Morning, and the Debate continu'd till four of the Clock in the Afternoon; which had been seldom us'd before, but afterwards grew into custom. Many observ'd "that they were to pur-"chase a release of an Imposition very unjustly laid upon the "Kingdom, and by purchasing it, they should upon the "matter confess it had been Just; which no man in his heart acknowledg'd; and therefore wish'd "that the Judgement "might be first examin'd, and being once declar'd Void, "what they should present the King with, would appear a "Gift, and not a Recompence: but this was rather modestly insinuated than insisted upon; and the greater number reflected more on the Proportion demanded; which some of those who were thought very well to understand the state of the Kingdom, confidently affirm'd to be more than the whole stock in Money of the Kingdom amounted to, which appear'd shortly after to be a very gross Miscomputation. There were very few, except those of the Court (who were ready to give all that the King would ask, and indeed had little to give of their own) who did not believe the Sum demanded to be too great; and wish'd that a less might be accepted, and therefore were willing, when the day was so far spent, that the Debate might be adjourn'd till the next Morning; which was willingly consented to by all, and so the House rose. All this agitation had been in a Committee of the whole House, the Speaker having left the Chair, to which Mr *Lenthall*, a Lawyer of no eminent account, was call'd. But there was not, in the whole day, in all the variety of contradictions, an offensive or angry word spoken: except only that one private Country Gentleman little known, said, "He observ'd that the Supply was to be employ'd in "the supporting *Bellum Episcopale*, which he thought the Bi-"shops were fittest to do themselves: but as there was no reply, or notice taken of it, so there was no body who seconded that envious reflexion, nor any other expression of that kind.

This debated.

THE next day as soon as the House met, and Prayers were read, it resolv'd again into a Committee of the whole House,

Houſe, the ſame Perſon being again call'd to the Chair : it was expected and hop'd, that there would have been ſome new meſſage from the King, that might have facilitated the debate; but nothing appearing of that kind, the Propoſition was again read, and men of all ſides diſcours'd much of what had been ſaid before, and many ſpoke with more reflexion upon the Judgement of Ship-money than they had done the day paſt, and ſeem'd to wiſh, "that whatſoever they ſhould "give the King ſhould be a free teſtimony of their affection "and duty, without any releaſe of Ship-money, which de- "ſerv'd no conſideration, but in a ſhort time would appear "void and null. And this ſeem'd to agree with the ſenſe of ſo great a part of the Houſe, that Mr *Hambden* the moſt Popular man in the Houſe (the ſame who had defended the Suit againſt the King in his own name, upon the illegality of Ship-money) thought the matter ripe for the Queſtion, and deſir'd the Queſtion might be put, "Whether the Houſe "would conſent to the Propoſition made by the King, as it "was contain'd in the meſſage? which would have been ſure to have found a Negative from all who thought the Sum too great, or were not pleas'd that it ſhould be given in recompence of Ship-money.

WHEN many call'd to have this Queſtion, Serjeant *Glanvile* the Speaker (who ſate by amongſt the other Members whilſt the Houſe was in a Committee, and had rarely us'd to ſpeak in ſuch ſeaſons) roſe up, and in a moſt pathetical Speech, in which he excell'd, endeavour'd to perſwade the Houſe "to comply with the King's deſire, for the good of "the Nation, and to reconcile him to Parliaments for ever, "which this ſeaſonable teſtimony of their affections would "infallibly do. He made it manifeſt to them how very inconſiderable a Sum twelve Subſidies amounted to, by telling them, "that he had computed what he was to pay for thoſe "twelve Subſidies; and when he nam'd the Sum, he being known to be poſſeſs'd of a great Eſtate, it ſeem'd not worth any farther Deliberation. And in the warmth of his Diſcourſe, which he plainly diſcern'd made a wonderful impreſſion upon the Houſe, he let fall ſome ſharp expreſſions againſt the Impoſition of Ship-money, and the Judgement in the point, which he ſaid plainly "was againſt the Law, if "he underſtood what Law was (who was known to be very Learn'd) which expreſſion, how neceſſary and artificial ſoever to reconcile the affections of the Houſe to the matter in queſtion, very much irreconcil'd him at Court, and to Thoſe upon whom he had the greateſt dependence.

THERE was ſcarce ever a Speech that more gather'd up and united the Inclinations of a popular Council to the Speaker:

Speaker; and if the Queſtion had been preſently put, it was believ'd the number of the Diſſenters would not have appear'd great. But after a ſhort ſilence, ſome men, who wiſh'd well to the Main, expreſs'd a diſlike of the Way, ſo that other men recover'd new Courage, and call'd again with ſome earneſtneſs, "That the Queſtion formerly propos'd by "Mr *Hambden* ſhould be put; which ſeem'd to meet with a concurrence. Mr *Hyde* then ſtood up, and deſir'd "that "Queſtion might not be put; ſaid, it was a Captious que- "ſtion, to which only one ſort of men would clearly give "their Vote, which were they who were for a rejection of "the King's Propoſition, and no more reſuming the Debate "upon that Subject: but that They who deſir'd to give the "King a Supply, as he believ'd moſt did, though not in ſuch "a Proportion, nor it may be, in that Manner, could receive "no Satisfaction by that queſtion; and therefore He pro- "pos'd, to the end that every man might frankly give his "Yea, or his No, that the queſtion might be put only upon "the giving the King a Supply, which being carried in the "Affirmative, another queſtion might be upon the Propor- "tion, and the Manner; and if the firſt were carry'd in the "Negative, it would produce the ſame effect, as the other "queſtion propos'd by Mr *Hambden* would do.

THIS method was receiv'd by ſome with great approbation, but oppos'd by others with more than ordinary Paſſion, and diverted by other Propoſitions, which being ſeconded took much time, without pointing to any Concluſion. In the end Serjeant *Glanvile* ſaid, "That there had been a Que- "ſtion propos'd by his Country-man, that agreed very well "with His ſenſe, and mov'd that the Gentleman might be "call'd upon to propoſe it again. Mr *Hyde* ſtated the caſe again as he had done, anſwer'd ſomewhat that had been ſaid againſt it, and mov'd "that Queſtion might be put. Whereupon for a long time there was nothing ſaid, but a confus'd clamour, and call, Mr Hambden's *Queſtion*, Mr Hyde's *Queſtion*; the call appearing much ſtronger for the laſt, than the former: and it was generally believ'd that the Queſtion had been put, and carried in the Affirmative, though it was poſitively oppos'd by *Herbert* the Sollicitor General, for what reaſon no man could imagine, if Sr *Henry Vane* the Secretary had not ſtood up, and ſaid, "That, as it had been always "his cuſtom to deal plainly and clearly with that Houſe in "all things, ſo he could not but now aſſure them, that the "putting, and carrying that Queſtion, could be of no uſe; "for that he was moſt ſure, and had Authority to tell them "ſo, that if they ſhould paſs a Vote for the giving the King "a Supply, if it were not in the Proportion and manner

"propos'd

"propos'd in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted "by him; and therefore desir'd that Question might be laid "aside; which being again urg'd by the Sollicitor General upon the Authority of what the other had declar'd, and the other Privy Counsellors saying nothing, though they were much displeas'd with the Secretary's averment, the business was no more press'd: but it being near five of the Clock in the afternoon, and every body weary, it was willingly consented to that the House should be Adjourn'd till the next morning.

BOTH Sr *Henry Vane*, and the Sollicitor General (whose opinion was of more weight with the King than the others) had made a worse representation of the humour and affection of the House than it deserv'd, and undertook to know, that if they came together again, they would pass such a Vote against Ship-money, as would blast that Revenue and other branches of the Receipt; which Others believ'd they would not have had the confidence to have Attempted; and very Few, that they would have had the credit to have Compass'd. What follow'd in the next Parliament, within less than a Year, made it believ'd, that Sr *Henry Vane* acted that part Maliciously, and to bring all into Confusion; he being known to have an implacable hatred against the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose destruction was then upon the Anvil. But what transported the Sollicitor, who had none of the ends of the other, could not be imagin'd, except it was his pride, and peevishness, when he found that he was like to be of less Authority there, than he look'd to be; and yet he was heard with great attention, though his Parts were most prevalent in puzzling and perplexing that discourse he meant to cross. Let their Motives be what they would, they Two, and they only, wrought so far with the King, that without so much Deliberation as the affair was worthy of, his Majesty the next morning, which was on the Fifth of *May*, near a Month after their first meeting, sent for the Speaker to attend him, and took care that he should go directly to the House of Peers, upon some apprehension that if he had gone to the House of Commons, that House would have entred upon some ingrateful discourse; which they were not inclin'd to do: and then sending for that House to attend him, the Keeper, by his Majesty's Command, Dissolv'd the Parliament. *The Parliament Dissolv'd.*

THERE could not a greater damp have seiz'd upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, than this Dissolution caus'd; and Men had much of the Misery in view, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hop'd that more sober and dispassionate Men would ever meet together in that place, or

fewer

fewer who brought ill purpoſes with them; nor could any man imagine what Offence they had given, which put the King upon that reſolution. But it was obſerv'd, that in the countenances of Thoſe who had moſt oppos'd all that was deſir'd by his Majeſty, there was a marvellous Serenity; nor could they conceal the Joy of their hearts: for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the King would be ſhortly compell'd to call another Parliament, and they were as ſure, that ſo many, ſo unbiaſs'd men, would never be elected again.

WITHIN an hour after the Diſſolving, Mr *Hyde* met Mr *Saint-John*, who had naturally a great cloud in his Face, and very ſeldom was known to ſmile, but then had a moſt chearful aſpect, and ſeeing the other melancholick, as in truth he was from his heart, ask'd him, "What troubled him? who anſwer'd, "That the ſame that troubled Him, he be-"liev'd, troubled moſt Good men; that in ſuch a time of "Confuſion, ſo wiſe a Parliament, which alone could have "found Remedy for it, was ſo unſeaſonably diſmiſs'd: the other anſwer'd with a little warmth, "That all was well; "and that it muſt be Worſe, before it could be Better; and "that this Parliament could never have done what was ne-"ceſſary to be done: as indeed it would not, what He and His friends thought neceſſary.

The King's trouble for it afterwards.

THE King, when he had better reflected upon what was like to fall out, and was better inform'd of the temper and duty of the Houſe of Commons, and that they had voted a Supply, if Sr *Henry Vane* had not hindred it by ſo poſitive a declaration that his Majeſty would refuſe it, was heartily Sorry for what he had done; declar'd with great anger, "That he had never given him ſuch Authority; and that He "knew well that the giving him any Supply would have "been welcome to him, becauſe the reputation of his Sub-"jects aſſiſting him in that conjuncture, was all that he look'd "for, and conſider'd. He conſulted the ſame day, or the next, whether he might by his Proclamation recall them to meet together again: but finding that impoſſible, he fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raiſing of Money, in which he had ſo wonderful ſucceſs, that, in leſs than three weeks, by the voluntary Loan of the particular Lords of the Council, and of other Private Gentlemen about the City, ſome relating to the Court, and others ſtrangers to it, there was no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds paid into the Exchequer to be iſſued out as his Majeſty ſhould direct: a Sum that ſufficiently manifeſted the plenty of that time, and greater than moſt Princes in *Europe* could have commanded in ſo ſhort a time; and was an unanſwerable evidence, that

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the hearts of his Subjects were not then alien'd from their duty to the King, or a juſt jealouſy for His honour.

ALL diligence was uſed in making Levies, in which few of the General Officers which had been employ'd the Year before were made uſe of; though it was great pity that the Earl of *Eſſex* was not again taken in; which had infallibly preſerv'd him from ſwerving from his Duty, and he would have diſcharged his truſt with Courage and Fidelity, and therefore probably with Succeſs: but he was of a haughty Spirit, and did not think his laſt Summers Service ſo well requited, that he was earneſtly to ſollicit for another Office; though there is no doubt but he would have accepted it, if it had been offer'd. *An Army raiſed.*

A GENERAL was appointed, the Earl of *Northumberland*; and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horſe: which made the great Officers of the former Year, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Earl of *Holland* (who thought themſelves free from any Overſights that had been committed) more capable of Infuſions by thoſe who were ready to work according to the Occurrences upon their ſeveral conſtitutions. But the reputation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had indeed arriv'd at a wonderful general eſtimation, was believ'd to be moſt inſtrumental in it: and the Lord *Conway* was thought an able Soldier, and of great Parts. Beſides, the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Holland* were thought leſs governable by thoſe Councils to which the main was then to be intruſted, the Earl of *Strafford* bearing a part in them; to whom the firſt was very averſe, and the latter irreconcileable. *The Earl of* Northumberland *made General.*

DISPATCHES were ſent into *Ireland* to quicken the Preparations there, which the Earl had left in a great forwardneſs, under the care of the Earl of *Ormond* his Lieutenant General: Moneys iſſu'd out for the levies of Horſe and Foot there, and for the making a Train: all which were as well advanced, as, conſidering the general Diſcompoſure, could be reaſonably expected.

THE King, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, thought they had well provided for the worſt in making of the Lord *Conway* to be General of the Horſe: a man very dear to the two Earls; and indeed, by a very extraordinary fate, he had got a very particular intereſt and eſteem in many Worthy men of very different qualifications. He had been born a Soldier in his Father's Garriſon of the *Brill*, when he was Governour there; and bred up, in ſeveral Commands, under the particular care of the Lord *Vere*; whoſe Nephew he was; and though he was Married young, when his Father was Secretary of State, there was no Action *The Lord* Conway *General of the Horſe.*

of

of the *English* either at Sea or Land, in which he had not a conſiderable Command; and always preſerv'd a more than ordinary Reputation, in ſpight of ſome great Infirmities, which uſe to be a great allay to the credit of active men; for he was a voluptuous man in eating and drinking, and of great licence in all other exceſſes, and yet was very acceptable to the ſtricteſt, and the graveſt men of all conditions. And which was ſtranger than all this, he had always (from his Pleaſure, to which his nature exceſſively inclin'd him, and from his Profeſſion, in which he was diligent enough) reſerv'd ſo much time for his Books and Study, that he was well verſed in all parts of Learning, at leaſt appear'd like ſuch a one in all occaſions, and in the beſt companies. He was of a very pleaſant and inoffenſive Converſation, which made him generally very acceptable: ſo that the Court being at that time full of Faction, very few loving one another, or thoſe who reſorted to any who were not lov'd by them, He alone was even domeſtick with all, and not ſuſpected by either of the Lords or the Ladies factions.

THE War was generally thought to be as well provided for, as, after the laſt years miſcarriage, it could be, by His being made General of the Horſe; and no man was more pleaſed with it, than the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had contracted an extraordinary opinion of this man, and took great delight in his company, he being well able to ſpeak in the Affairs of the Church, and taking care to be thought by him a very Zealous Defender of it; when they who knew him better, knew he had no kind of ſenſe of Religion, and thought all was alike. He was ſent down with the firſt Troops of Horſe, and Foot, which were levied, to the Borders of *Scotland*, to attend the motion of the Enemy, and had a Strength ſufficient to ſtop them if they ſhould attempt to paſs the River, which was not Fordable in above one or two places, there being good Garriſons in *Berwick* and *Carliſle*. And in this poſture he lay near *Newburn* in the out-skirts of *Northumberland*.

WHILST theſe things were thus publickly Acted, private agitations were not leſs vigorouſly intended. The Treaty and Pacification of the former year, had given an opportunity of forming Correſpondences, and contriving Deſigns, which before had been more Clandeſtine; and the late meeting in Parliament had brought many together, who could not otherwiſe have met, and diſcover'd humours and affections, which could not elſe have been ſo eaſily communicated. The Court was full of Faction and Animoſity, each man more intending the ruin of his Adverſary, and ſatisfying his private Malice, than advancing his Maſter's Service, or complying

plying with his Publick duty, and to that purpoſe directing all their endeavours, and forming all their intercourſe; whilſt every man unwiſely thought him whom he found an Enemy to his Enemies, a Friend to all his other Affections; or rather by the narrowneſs of his underſtanding, and extent of his paſſion, contracted all his other affections to that one of Revenge.

AND by this means thoſe Emiſſaries and Agents for the Confuſion which was to follow, were furniſh'd with opportunity and art to Intangle all thoſe (and God knows they were a great many) who were tranſported with thoſe vulgar and vile Conſiderations: cheap, ſenſeleſs Libels were ſcatter'd about the City, and fix'd upon Gates and publick remarkable places, traducing and vilifying Thoſe who were in higheſt Truſt and Employment: Tumults were raiſed, and all licence both in actions and words taken; inſomuch as a Rabble of mean, unknown, diſſolute Perſons, to the number of ſome thouſands, attempted the Houſe of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*, with open profeſſion and proteſtation, "that they would tear him in pieces; which (though one of that Rabble, a Saylor, was apprehended and executed in *Southwark*, upon an Indictment of High Treaſon) was ſo juſt a cauſe of Terrour, that the Arch-Biſhop, by the King's command, lodg'd for ſome days and nights in *White-Hall*; which place likewiſe was not unthreaten'd in their ſeditious meetings and diſcourſes. This infamous, ſcandalous, headleſs Inſurrection, quaſh'd by the deſerv'd death of that one Varlet, was not thought to be contriv'd or fomented by any perſons of Quality: yet it was diſcourſed after in the Houſe of Commons by Mr *Strode* (one of thoſe *Ephori* who moſt avow'd the curbing and ſuppreſſing of Majeſty) with much pleaſure and content; and it was mention'd in the firſt draught of the firſt Remonſtrance (when the ſame was brought in by Mr *Pym*) not without a touch of approbation, which was for that reaſon ſomewhat alter'd, though it ſtill carried nothing of cenſure upon it in that piece.

A Tumult about Lambeth *Houſe.*

THINGS ſtanding thus both in Court and City, and the *Scots* preparing with great induſtry for Invaſion, and we, at leaſt, for a Defence, on a ſuddain the Lord *Lowden* (who before was ſaid to be committed for deſiring Protection and Aid from the *French* King, by a Letter under his hand) was diſcharg'd from his Impriſonment; without imparting that Reſolution to the Council; and after a few days admittance and kind reception at *White-Hall*, was diſmiſs'd into *Scotland*; his Authority and Power with that People being as conſiderable as any man's, and his Conduct as neceſſary for the enterprizes they had in hand. This Stratagem was never underſtood;

derſtood; and was then variouſly ſpoken of: many believing he had undertaken great matters for the King in *Scotland*, and to quiet that Diſtemper: others, that it was an act entirely compaſs'd by the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who was like to ſtand in need of great Supporters, by that extraordinary obligation to endear himſelf with that Nation; or to Communicate ſomewhat to that Nation, if his condition before were ſo good that it needed no endearment. They who publiſh'd their thoughts leaſt, made no ſcruple of ſaying, "that if the "policy were good and neceſſary of his firſt Commitment, "it ſeem'd as juſt and prudent to have continued him in that "reſtraint.

THE progreſs in the King's advance for *Scotland*, was exceedingly hinder'd by the great and dangerous ſickneſs of the Earl of *Northumberland* the General, whoſe recovery was either totally deſpair'd of by the Phyſician, or pronounced to be expected very ſlowly; ſo that there would be no poſſibility for him to perform the Service of the North: whereupon he ſent to the King, to deſire that he would make choice of another General. And though the Lord *Conway* in all his Letters ſent advertiſement, "that the *Scots* had not ad-"vanced their Preparations to that degree that they would "be able to march that Year, yet the King had much better Intelligence that they were in readineſs to move; and ſo concluded that it was neceſſary to ſend another General; and deſign'd the Earl of *Strafford* for that Command, and to leave the Forces in *Ireland*, which were raiſed to make a diverſion in *Scotland*, to be govern'd by the Earl of *Ormond*. The Earl of *Strafford*, was ſcarce recover'd from a great ſickneſs, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to ſee how few men were forward to ſerve the King with that vigour of mind they ought to do; but knowing well the malicious deſigns which were contriv'd againſt himſelf, he would rather ſerve as Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Northumberland*, than that He ſhould reſign his Commiſſion: and ſo, with and under that qualification, he made all poſſible haſt towards the North, before he had ſtrength enough for the journey.

The Lord Conway routed at Newburn.

BUT before he could arrive with the Army, that infamous irreparable Rout at *Newburn* was fall'n out; where the Enemy march'd at a time and place, when and where they were expected, through a River deep though Fordable, and up a Hill, where our Army was ranged to receive them: through thoſe difficulties and diſadvantages, without giving or taking any Blows (for the five or ſix men of ours who were kill'd, fell by their Canon, before the paſſing of the River) they put our whole Army to the moſt ſhameful and confounding

confounding Flight that was ever heard of; our Foot making no leſs haſt from *New-Caſtle*, than our Horſe from *Newburn*; both leaving the Honour, and a great deal of the Wealth of the Kingdom, ariſing from the Coal-mines, to Thoſe who had not confidence enough (notwithſtanding the evidence they had ſeen of our fear) to poſſeſs that Town in two days after; not believing it poſſible that ſuch a place, which was able to have maintain'd the War alone ſome time, could be ſo kindly quitted to them: The Lord *Conway* never after turning his Face towards the Enemy, or doing any thing like a Commander, though his Troops were quickly brought together again, without the loſs of a dozen men, and were ſo aſham'd of their Flight, that they were very willing as well as able to have taken what Revenge they would upon the Enemy, who were poſſeſs'd with all the fears imaginable, and would hardly believe their own ſucceſs, till they were aſſur'd that the Lord *Conway* with all his Army reſted quietly in *Durham*, and then they preſum'd to enter into *New-Caſtle*.

The Scots Army enter New-Caſtle:

BUT it ſeem'd afterwards to be a full vindication of the Honour of the Nation, that, from this infamous Defeat at *Newburn*, to the laſt entire Conqueſt of *Scotland* by *Cromwell*, the *Scots* Army ſcarce perform'd one ſignal action againſt the *Engliſh*, but were always beaten by great inequality of numbers as oft as they encounter'd, if they were not ſupported by *Engliſh* Troops.

IN this poſture the Earl of *Strafford* found the Army about *Durham*, bringing with him a body much broken with his late ſickneſs, which was not clearly ſhaken off, and a mind and temper confeſſing the dregs of it, which being marvellouſly provok'd and inflam'd with indignation at the late Diſhonour, render'd him leſs gracious, that is, leſs inclin'd to make himſelf ſo, to the Officers, upon his firſt entrance into his Charge; it may be, in that maſs of diſorder, not quickly diſcerning to whom kindneſs and reſpect was juſtly due. But thoſe who by this time no doubt were retain'd for that purpoſe, took that opportunity to incenſe the Army againſt him; and ſo far prevail'd in it, that in a ſhort time it was more inflam'd againſt Him than againſt the Enemy; and was willing to have their want of Courage imputed to exceſs of Conſcience, and that their being not ſatisfy'd in the grounds of the Quarrel was the only cauſe that they Fought no better. In this Indiſpoſition in all parts, the Earl found it neceſſary to retire with the Army to the skirts of *York-ſhire*, and himſelf to *York* (whither the King was come) leaving *Northumberland* and the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to be poſſeſs'd by the Victors; who being abundantly ſatisfy'd with what they never hoped to poſſeſs, made no haſt to advance their new Conqueſts.

The King's Army retreating towards York.

It was very much wonder'd at, that the Earl of *Strafford*, upon his first arrival at the Army, call'd no persons to a Council of War for that shameful business of *Newburn*, or the more shameful quitting of *New-Castle* (where were not ten barrels of Musquet-Bullets, nor Moulds to make any; the Enemy having been long expected there, and our Army not less than a Month in that Town; time enough, if nothing had been done before, to have made that place tenable for a longer time than it could have been distress'd.) Whether the Earl saw that it would not have been in His power to have proceeded finally and exemplarily upon that inquisition, and therefore chose rather not to enter upon it; or whether he found the Guilt to be so involv'd, that though some were more Obnoxious, few were unfaulty; or whether he plainly discern'd to what the Whole tended, and so would not trouble himself further in discovering of that, which, instead of a Reproach, might prove a Benefit to the persons concern'd; I know not: but publick Examination it never had.

The *Scots* needed not now advance their Progress; their Game was in the hands (no prejudice to their skill) of better Gamesters. Besides, they were not to make the least inroad, or to do the least trespass to their Neighbours of *Yorkshire*; who were as sollicitous, that by any access or concurrence of the strength of that large County, they should not be driven farther back; and therefore instead of drawing their Train'd Bands together (which of themselves would have been a greater or better Army than was to contend with them) to defend their County, or the Person of the King then with them, they prepar'd Petitions of advice and good counsel to him to call a Parliament, and to remove all other Grievances but the *Scots*. At the same time some Lords from *London* (of known, and since publish'd affections to that Invasion) attended his Majesty at *York* with a Petition, sign'd by others, eight or ten in the whole, who were craftily perswaded by the Leigers there, Mr *Pym*, Mr *Hambden*, and Mr *Saint-John*, to concur in it, being full of duty and modesty enough; without considering that nothing else at that time could have done mischief; and so suffer'd themselves to be made Instruments towards those Ends which in truth they abhorr'd.

In these distractions and discomposures, between an Enemy proud and insolent in Success, an Army corrupted, or at least dishearten'd, a County mutinous and inclin'd to the Rebels, at least not inclin'd to reduce them, and a Court infected with all three, the King could not but find himself in great straits; besides that his Treasure, which had hitherto kept that which was best from being worse, was quite spent.

The

The raiſing and disbanding the firſt Army ſo unfortunately and wretchedly, had coſt full three hundred thouſand pounds, which the good husbandry of the Miniſters of the Revenue had treaſur'd up for an emergent occaſion: and the borrowing ſo much money for the raiſing and ſupplying this latter Army, had drawn aſſignments and anticipations upon the Revenue to that degree, that there was not left wherewithal to defray the neceſſary expence of the King's Houſhold. A Parliament would not be eaſily thought of, on this conſideration, that it could not come together ſpeedily enough to prevent that miſchief to which it ſhould be chiefly applied; for if we were not then in a condition to defend our ſelves, in forty days (the ſooneſt a Parliament could meet) an Army elate with Victory, when no Town was fortify'd, or Paſs ſecur'd, might run over the Kingdom; eſpecially the People being every where ſo like to bid them welcome.

A great Council of the Peers ſummon'd to York.

A NEW Invention (not before heard of, that is, ſo old, that it had not been practiſed in ſome hundreds of Years) was thought of, to call a great Council of all the Peers of *England* to meet and attend his Majeſty at *York*, that by their advice that great Affair might be the more proſperouſly managed. Whether it was then conceiv'd, that the Honour of the King and Kingdom being ſo viſibly upon the Stage, thoſe Branches of Honour, which could not out-live the Root, would undoubtedly reſcue and preſerve it; or whether it was believ'd, that upon ſo extraordinary an occaſion the Peers would ſuffice to raiſe money; as it was in that meeting propos'd by one of them, "that They might give Subſidies: Whether the advice was given by thoſe who had not the confidence in plain terms to propoſe a Parliament, but were confident that would produce one; or whether a Parliament was then reſolv'd on, and They call'd to be oblig'd by it, and ſo to be oblig'd to ſome ſober undertaking in it; or what other ground or intention there was of that Council, was never known: or whether indeed it was reſolv'd out of trouble and agony of afflicted thoughts, becauſe no other way occurr'd: But ſuch a Reſolution was taken, and Writs immediately iſſued under the Great Seal of *England* to all the Peers to attend his Majeſty at *York* within twenty days; and preparations were made in all places accordingly.

The ſtate of affairs at Court at that time.

WHILST the Lords are on their way thither, it will not be amiſs to conſider the general ſtate of affairs in that time, and the Perſons to whom the managing the Publick Buſineſs was principally then, and for ſome time had been, intruſted; that ſo upon view of the materials, we may be the better enabled to gueſs how thoſe dextrous work-men were like to employ themſelves. It hath been ſaid already, that upon the

Diſſolution of the Parliament but four months before, the Lords of the Council beſtirr'd themſelves in levying the Ship-money, and lending great ſums of Money for the War.

The Convocation continued after the Parliament: makes Canons.

THE Convocation-Houſe (the regular and legal aſſembling of the Clergy) cuſtomarily beginning and ending with Parliaments, was, after the determination of the laſt, by a new Writ continued, and ſate for the ſpace of above a month under the proper title of a Synod; made Canons, which was thought it might do; and gave Subſidies out of Parliament, and enjoin'd Oaths, which certainly it might Not do: in a word, did many things which in the beſt of times might have been queſtion'd, and therefore were ſure to be condemn'd in the worſt (what fewel it was to the fire that enſued, ſhall be mention'd in its place) and drew the ſame Prejudice upon the whole body of the Clergy, to which before only ſome few Clergy-men were expos'd.

The Papiſts activity and boldneſs about that time.

THE Papiſts had for many Years enjoy'd a great calm, being upon the matter abſolv'd from the Severeſt parts of the Law, and diſpenſed with for the Gentleſt; and were grown only a part of the Revenue, without any probable danger of being made a ſacrifice to the Law. They were look'd upon as good Subjects at Court, and as good Neighbours in the Country; all the reſtraints and reproaches of former times being forgotten. But they were not prudent managers of this Proſperity, being too elate and tranſported with the Protection and Connivance they receiv'd: though I am perſwaded their Numbers encreas'd not, their Pomp and Boldneſs did, to that degree, that, as if they affected to be thought dangerous to the State, they appear'd more publickly, entertain'd and urg'd Conferences more avowedly, than had been before known: they reſorted at common hours to Maſs to *Somerſet* Houſe, and return'd thence in great multitudes, with the ſame barefacedneſs as others came from the *Savoy* or other neighbour Churches: they attempted, and ſometimes obtain'd Proſelytes of weak uninform'd Ladies, with ſuch circumſtances as provoked the Rage, and deſtroy'd the Charity of great and powerful Families, which long'd for their Suppreſſion: they grew not only ſecret Contrivers, but publick profeſs'd Promoters of, and Miniſters in, the moſt odious, and the moſt grievous Projects: as in that of Soap, form'd, fram'd, and executed, by almoſt a Corporation of that Religion; which under that licence and notion, might be, and were ſuſpected to be, qualify'd for other agitations. The Prieſts, and ſuch as were in Orders (Orders that in themſelves were puniſhable by Death) were departed from their former modeſty and fear, and were as willing to be known as to be hearken'd to; inſomuch as a Jeſuit at *Paris* who

who was coming for *England*, had the boldneſs to viſit the Embaſſadour there, who knew him to be ſuch, and offering his ſervice acquainted him with his Journey, as if there had been no Laws There for his reception. And for the moſt invidious Protection and Countenance of that whole Party, a Publick Agent from *Rome* (firſt Mr *Con* a *Scotiſh*-man, and after him the Count of *Rozetti* an *Italian*) reſided at *London* in great Port; publickly viſited the Court; and was avowedly reſorted to by the Catholicks of all conditions, over whom he aſſum'd a particular juriſdiction; and was careſs'd, and preſented magnificently by the Ladies of Honour who inclin'd to that Profeſſion. They had likewiſe, with more noiſe and vanity than prudence would have admitted, made Publick Collections of Money to a conſiderable ſum, upon ſome recommendations from the Queen, and to be by her Majeſty preſented as a free-will-offering from his Roman-Catholick Subjects to the King, for the carrying on the War againſt the *Scots*; which drew upon Them the rage of that Nation, with little devotion and reverence to the Queen her ſelf; as if She deſir'd to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant Religion in one Kingdom as well as the other, by the Arms of the Roman-Catholicks. To conclude, they carried themſelves ſo, as if they had been ſuborn'd by the *Scots* to root out their Own Religion.

The perſons then compoſing the Committee of State:

THE bulk and burthen of the State affairs, whereby the Envy attended them likewiſe, lay principally upon the ſhoulders of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Cottington*; ſome others being joyn'd to them, as the Earl of *Northumberland* for ornament, the Lord Biſhop of *London* for his place, being Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, the two Secretaries, Sr *Henry Vane* and Sr *Francis Windebank*, for ſervice and communication of Intelligence; only the Marquis of *Hamilton* indeed, by his skill and intereſt, bore as great a part as he had a mind to do, and had the skill to meddle no farther than he had a mind. Theſe Perſons made up the Committee of State (which was reproachfully after call'd *the Junto*, and enviouſly then in the Court *the Cabinet Council*) who were upon all occaſions, when the Secretaries receiv'd any extraordinary Intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary Diſpatch, or as often otherwiſe as was thought fit, to meet: whereas the Body of the Council obſerv'd ſet days and hours for Their meeting, and came not elſe together except ſpecially ſummon'd.

The Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury.

BUT, as I ſaid before, the Weight and the Envy of all great matters reſted upon the three firſt. The Arch-Biſhop, beſides the ſole diſpoſal of whatſoever concern'd the Church, which was an invidious province, having been from the

death of the Earl of *Portland* (at which time he was made Commissioner of the Treasury) more engag'd in the Civil business, than I am perswaded he desir'd to be; and throughout the whole business passionately concern'd for the Church of *Scotland*, and so, conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourtly quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him; a more than ordinary Prejudice and Uncharitableness was contracted against him: to which the new Canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

The Earl of Strafford.

THE Earl of *Strafford* had for the space of almost six Years entirely govern'd *Ireland*, where he had been compell'd, upon reason of State, to exercise many Acts of Power; and had indulg'd some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Mount-Norris*; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concern'd a person notoriously unbelov'd, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of Soveraignty, that in a time of Peace had been ever executed by any Subject. When and why he was call'd out of *Ireland* to assist in Council here, I have touch'd before. He was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of Ceremony to have many Friends at Court, and therefore could not but have Enemies enough: he had Two that profess'd it, the Earl of *Holland*, and Sr *Henry Vane*; the first could never forget or forgive a sharp suddain Saying of his (for I cannot call it Counsel or Advice) when there had been some difference a few years before between his Lordship and the Lord *Weston*, in the managing whereof the Earl of *Holland* was confin'd to his House, "That the King should do well to cut off his head: which had been aggravated (if such an injury were capable of aggravation) by a succession of Discountenances mutually perform'd between them to that time. Sr *Henry Vane* had not far to look back to the time that the Earl had with great earnestness oppos'd his being made Secretary, and prevail'd for above a months delay; which, though it was done with great reason and justice by the Earl, on the behalf of an old Fellow-servant, and his very good Friend Sr *John Coke* (who was to be, and afterwards was, remov'd to let Him in) yet the justice to the One, lessen'd not the sense of unkindness to the Other: after which, or about the same time (which it may be made the other to be the more virulently remembred) being to be made Earl of *Strafford*, he would needs in that Patent have a new creation of a Barony, and was made Baron of *Raby*, a House belonging to Sr *Henry Vane*, and an

Honour he made account ſhould belong to himſelf; which was an act of the moſt unneceſſary provocation (though he contemn'd the Man with marvellous ſcorn) that I have known, and I believe was the chief occaſion of the loſs of his Head. To theſe a Third adverſary (like to be more pernicious than the other Two) was added, the Earl of *Eſſex*, naturally enough disinclin'd to his Perſon, his Power, and his Parts, upon ſome rough Carriage of the Earl of *Strafford*'s towards the late Earl of *Saint Albans*, to whom he had a Friendſhip, and therefore openly profeſs'd to be reveng'd. Laſtly, he had an Enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole *Scotiſh* Nation, provok'd by the Declaration he had procur'd of *Ireland*, and ſome high Carriage and Expreſſions of his againſt them in that Kingdom. So that He had reaſon to expect as hard meaſure from ſuch Popular Councils as he ſaw were like to be in requeſt, as all thoſe Diſadvantages could create towards Him. And yet no doubt his Confidence was great in Himſelf, and in the form of Juſtice (which he could not ſuſpect would be ſo totally confounded) that he never apprehended a greater cenſure than a Sequeſtration from all Publick Employments, in which it is probable he had abundant ſatiety: and this Confidence could not have proceeded (conſidering the full knowledge he had of his Judges) but from a proportionable ſtock of, and ſatisfaction in, his own Innocence.

The Lord Cottington.

THE Lord *Cottington*, though he was a very Wiſe Man, yet having ſpent the greateſt part of his Life in *Spain*, and ſo having been always ſubject to the unpopular imputation of being of the *Spaniſh* Faction, indeed was better skill'd to make his Maſter great abroad, than gracious at home; and being Chancellor of the Exchequer from the time of the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year, had his Hand in many hard ſhifts for Money; and had the diſadvantage of being ſuſpected at leaſt a Favourer of the Papiſts (though that Religion thought it ſelf nothing beholding to Him) by which he was in great umbrage with the People: and then though he were much leſs hated than either of the other Two, and the leſs, becauſe there was nothing of kindneſs between the Arch-Biſhop and him; and indeed very few particulars of moment could be prov'd againſt him: yet there were two objections againſt him, which render'd him as odious as any to the great Reformers; the one, that he was not to be reconcil'd to or made uſe of in any of their deſigns; the other, that he had two good Offices, without the having of which their Reformation could not be perfect: for beſides being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was likewiſe Maſter of the Wards, and had rais'd the Revenue of

that Court to the King to be much greater than it had ever been before his Administration; by which Husbandry all the Rich Families of *England*, of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were exceedingly incens'd, and even indevoted to the Crown, looking upon what the Law had intended for their Preservation, to be now applied to their Destruction; and therefore resolv'd to take the first opportunity to ravish that Jewel out of the Royal Diadem, though it were fasten'd There by the known Law, upon as unquestionable a Right, as the Subject enjoy'd any thing that was most his Own.

The Marquis of Hamilton.

THE Marquis of *Hamilton*, if he had been then weigh'd in the Scales of the People's hatred, was at that time thought to be in greater danger than any one of the other; for he had more Enemies, and fewer Friends, in Court or Country, than any of the other. His interest in the King's Affection was at least equal, and thought to be superior, to any Man's; and he had receiv'd as invidious instances, and marks of those Affections. He had more out-faced the Law in bold Projects and Pressures upon the People, than any other Man durst have presum'd to do, as especially in the projects of Wine and Iron; about the last of which, and the most gross, he had a sharp contest with the Lord *Coventry* (who was a good Wrestler too) and at last compell'd him to let it pass the Seal: the entire profit of which always reverted to Himself, and to such as were his Pensioners. He had been the sole manager of the business of *Scotland* till the Pacification; the readiest Man, though Then absent, to advise that Pacification, and the most visible Author of the breach of it. Lastly, the discoveries between the Lord *Mackey* and *David Ramsay*, by which the Marquis was accus'd of designing to make himself King of *Scotland*, were fresh in many Mens memories, and the late passages in that Kingdom had reviv'd it in others; so that He might reasonably have expected as ill a presage for himself from those Fortune-tellers, as the most Melancholick of the other: but as he had been always most careful and sollicitous for Himself, so he was most likely to be apprehensive on his Own behalf, and to provide accordingly.

AND here I cannot omit a Story which I receiv'd from a very good hand, by which his great subtilty and industry for himself may appear, and was indeed as great a piece of Art (if it were Art) as I believe will be found amongst the modern Politicians. After the calling the Council of the Peers at *York* was resolv'd upon, and a little before the time of their appearance, the Marquis came to the King, and with some cloudiness (which was not unnatural) and trouble in his Countenance, he desir'd his Majesty to give him leave to Travel; the King surpriz'd was equally troubled at it,

and

and demanded his reaſon: he told him, "He well foreſaw a "Storm, in which his ſhipwrack was moſt probable amongſt "others; and that he, never having any thing before his "Eyes but his Majeſty's Service, or in his Vows, but an en- "tire ſimple Obedience to His Commands, might happily by "his Own unskilfulneſs in what was fit by any other rule, "be more obnoxious than other Men; and therefore, that "with his Majeſty's leave, he would withdraw himſelf from "the hazard at leaſt of that Tempeſt. The King, moſt gra- ciouſly inclin'd to him, bid him "be moſt confident, that "though he might (which he was reſolv'd to do) gratify "his People with any reaſonable Indulgence, he would ne- "ver fail his good Servants in that Protection which they "had equal reaſon to expect from him. The Marquis with ſome quickneſs reply'd, "that the knowledge of that gracious "diſpoſition in his Majeſty, was the principal cauſe that he "beſought leave to be abſent; and that otherwiſe he would "not ſo far deſert his own Innocence, which he was ſure "could be only ſully'd and diſcredited with Infirmities, and "indiſcretions, not tainted or defac'd with Deſign and Ma- "lice. But (ſaid he) "I know your Majeſty's goodneſs will "interpoſe for me to your Own prejudice: and I will rather "run any Fortune, from whence I may again return to ſerve "you, than be (as I foreſee I ſhould be) ſo immediate a "cauſe of Damage and Miſchief to ſo Royal a Maſter. He told him, "that he knew there were no leſs fatal Arrows "aim'd at the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of "*Strafford* than at himſelf; and that he had advertis'd the "firſt, and advis'd the laſt, to take the ſame courſe of with- "drawing whereby he meant to ſecure himſelf: but (he ſaid) "the Earl was too great-hearted to Fear, and he doubted the "other was too bold to Fly.

THE King was much diſturb'd with the probability and reaſon of what was ſaid; which the other as ſoon obſerving, "There is (ſaid he) one way by which I might ſecure my "ſelf without leaving the Kingdom, and by which your Ma- "jeſty, as theſe times are like to go, might receive ſome ad- "vantage; but it is ſo contrary to my Nature, and will be ſo "ſcandalous to my Honour in the opinion of Men, that, for "my own part, I had rather run my Fortune. His Majeſty, glad that ſuch an expedient might be found (as being un- willing to hazard his Safety againſt ſo much reaſon as had been ſpoken, by compelling him to ſtay; and as unwilling, by ſuffering him to go, to confeſs an apprehenſion that he might be impos'd upon) Impatiently ask'd "What that way "was? The Marquis reply'd, "That he might endear him- "ſelf to the other Party by promiſing his Service to them,

"and

"and seeming to concur with them in Opinions and Designs; "the which he had reason to believe the principal Persons "would not be averse to, in hope that his suppos'd interest "in his Majesty's opinion might be look'd upon as of mo- "ment to them for their particular Recommendations. But, "he said, this he knew would be look'd upon with so much "Jealousy by other men, and shortly with that Reproach, "that he might by degres be lessen'd even in his Majesty's "own trust; and therefore it was a Province he had no mind "to undertake: and so renew'd his Suit again very earnestly for leave to Travel.

THE King, for the reasons aforesaid, much delighted with this Expedient, and believing likewise, that in truth he might by this means frequently receive Informations of great use, and having a singular esteem of the Fidelity and Affection of the Marquis, told him positively, "That he should not "leave him; that he was not only contented, but command- "ed him to Ingratiate himself by any means with the other "People; and assur'd him "that it should not be in any bo- "dy's power to infuse the least jealousy of him into his Royal "Breast. The which Resolution his Majesty observ'd so con- stantly, that the other enjoy'd the liberty of doing whatso- ever he found necessary for his own behoof; and with won- derful craft and low condescensions to the ends and the ap- petites of very inferior People, and by seasonable insinuations to several leading persons (of how different inclinations so- ever) of such particulars as were grateful to them, and seem'd to advance their distinct and even contrary Interests and Pretences, he grew to have no less Credit in the Parliament than with the *Scotish* Commissioners; and was with great vi- gilance, industry, and dexterity, preserv'd from any Publick Reproach in those Charges which serv'd to ruin other Men, and which with more reason and justice might have been apply'd to Him than any other; and yet for a long time he did not incur the jealousy of the King; to whom he like- wise gave many advertisements, which if there had been Persons enough who would have concurr'd in prevention, might have prov'd of great use.

The King declares to the great Council at York *his resolutions to call a Par- liament.*

IN this state and condition were Things and Persons when the Lords came to *York* to the great Council in *September*; and the first day of their meeting (that the Counsel might not seem to arise from them who were resolv'd to give it, and that the Queen might receive the Honour of it; who, the King said, had by a Letter advis'd him to it; as his Ma- jesty exceedingly desir'd to endear Her to the People) the King declar'd to them, "that he was resolv'd to call a Parlia- "ment to assemble at *Westminster* the third day of *November* "following

"following; which was as ſoon as was poſſible. So the firſt work was done to their hands, and they had now nothing to do but to diſpoſe matters in order againſt that time, which could not well be done without a more overt converſation with the *Scots*. For though there was an intercourſe made, yet it paſs'd for the moſt part through hands whom the chief had no mind to truſt: as the Lord *Savile*; whom his bitter hatred to the Earl of *Strafford*, and as paſſionate hope of the Preſidentſhip of the North, which the Earl had, made applicable to any end; but otherwiſe a perſon of ſo ill a fame, that many deſir'd not to mingle in counſels with him. For, beſides his no reputation, they begun now to know that he had long held correſpondence with the *Scots* before their coming in, and invited them to enter the Kingdom with an Army; in order to which, and to raiſe his own credit, he had counterfeited the hands of ſome other Lords, and put their names to ſome undertakings of joining with the *Scots*; and therefore they were reſolv'd to take that negotiation out of his hands (without drawing any prejudice upon him for his preſumption) which they had quickly an opportunity to do. For the firſt day of the Lords meeting, a Petition is preſented to his Majeſty full of dutiful and humble expreſſions from the *Scots*, who well knew their time, and had always (how rough and undutiful ſoever their Actions were) given the King as good and as ſubmiſſive Words as can be imagin'd. This Petition, full of as much Submiſſion as a Victory it ſelf could produce (as was urg'd by ſome Lords) could not but beget a Treaty, and a Treaty was reſolv'd on ſpeedily to be at *Rippon*, a place in the King's Quarters: but then, ſpecial care was taken, by caution given to his Majeſty, that no ſuch ungracious perſons might be intruſted by him in this Treaty as might beget Jealouſies in the *Scots*, and ſo render it fruitleſs, and therefore the Earls of *Hertford*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Eſſex*, *Holland*, *Briſtol*, and *Berkſhire*, The Lords *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Dunſmore*, *Brook*, *Savile*, *Paulet*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick* (the Lord *Say* being ſick; and ſo not preſent at *York*) were choſen by the King; all Popular men, and not one of them of much intereſt in the Court, but only the Earl of *Holland*, who was known to be fit for any counſel that ſhould be taken againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, who had among them ſcarce a Friend or perſon civilly inclin'd towards him.

The Scots Petition the King upon it a Treaty appointed at Rippon.

WHEN theſe Commiſſioners from the King arriv'd at *Rippon*, there came others from the *Scots* Army of a quality much inferior, there being not above two Noblemen, whereof the Lord *Lowden* was the chief, two or three Gentlemen and Citizens, and *Alexander Henderſon* their Metropolitan, and

The Commiſſioners meet, and tranſact.

and two or three other Clergy men. The *Scots* applied themselves most particularly to the Earls of *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Holland*, and the Lord *Mandevile*, though in publick they seem'd equally to caress them all; and besides the duty they profess'd to the King in the most submiss expressions of reverence that could be us'd, they made great and voluminous expressions "of their affection to the Kingdom and People of *England*; "and remembred the infinite obligations they had from time "to time receiv'd from this Nation; especially the assistance "they had from it in their reformation of Religion, and "their attaining the light of the Gospel; and therefore as it "could never fall into Their hearts to be ungrateful to it, so "they hop'd that the good People of *England* would not en- "tertain any ill opinion of their coming into this Kingdom "at this time in a Hostile manner, as if they had the least "purpose of doing wrong to any particular person, much less "to alter any thing in the Government of the Kingdom; "protesting that they had the same tenderness of Their Laws, "and Liberties, and Privileges, as of their Own; and that "they did hope, as the Oppressions upon their native Coun- "try, both in their Civil and Spiritual Rights, had oblig'd "them to This manner of Address to the King, to whom "all access had been denied them by the power of their Ene- "mies; so, that this very manner of their coming in might "be for the good of this Kingdom, and the benefit of the "Subjects thereof, in the giving them opportunities to vin- "dicate their own Liberties and Laws; which, though not "Yet so much invaded as those of *Scotland* had been, were "enough infring'd by Those very men who had brought so "great Misery and Confusion upon that Kingdom; and who "intended, when they had finish'd their work There, and in "*Ireland*, to establish the same slavery in *England* as they "had brought upon the other two Kingdoms. All which "would be prevented by the Removal of three or four Per- "sons from about the King; whose Own gracious disposition "and inclination would bountifully provide for the Happi- "ness of all his Dominions, if Those ill men had no influ- "ence upon his Counsels.

THERE was not a man of all the *English* Commissioners to whom this kind of discourse was not grateful enough, and who did not promise to Himself some convenience that the Alterations which were like to happen might produce. And with those Lords with whom they desir'd to enter into a greater confidence, they conferr'd more openly and particularly, of the three Persons towards whom their greatest prejudice was, the Arch-Bishop, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Marquis of *Hamilton* (for in their whole discourses they

seem'd

ſeem'd equally at leaſt incenſed againſt Him, as againſt either of the other two) whom they reſolv'd ſhould be remov'd from the King. They ſpake in confidence "of the exceſs of "the Queen's Power, which in reſpect of her Religion, and "of the Perſons who had moſt Intereſt in Her, ought not to "prevail ſo much upon the King as it did in all Affairs. That "the King could never be happy, nor his Kingdom flouriſh, "till he had ſuch Perſons about him in all Places of Truſt, as "were of Honour and Experience in Affairs, and of good For-"tunes and Intereſts in the Affections of the People; who "would always inform his Majeſty that his own greatneſs "and happineſs conſiſted in the execution of Juſtice, and the "happineſs of his Subjects; and who are known to be zea-"lous for the preſervation and advancement of the Prote-"ſtant Religion, which every Honeſt Man thought at pre-"ſent to be in great danger, by the exorbitant Power of the "Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops who "were govern'd by him. It was no hard matter to inſinuate into the Perſons with whom they held this diſcourſe, that They were the very Men who they wiſh'd ſhould be in moſt Credit about the King; and they concluded "that their Affe-"ctions were ſo great to this Kingdom, and they ſo deſir'd that "all Grievances might be redreſs'd here, that though they "ſhould receive preſent Satisfaction in all that concern'd "Themſelves, they would not yet return, till proviſion "might likewiſe be made for the juſt Intereſt of *England*, and "the reformation of what was amiſs There in reference to "Church and State.

THIS appear'd ſo hopeful a Model to moſt of the King's Commiſſioners (who having no method preſcrib'd to them to treat in, were indeed ſent only to hear what the *Scots* would propoſe, the King himſelf then intending to determine what ſhould be granted to them) they never conſider'd the Truth of any of their Allegations, nor deſir'd to be inform'd of the Ground of their proceedings; but patiently hearken'd to all they ſaid in Publick, of which they intended to give an account to the King; and willingly heard all they ſaid in Private, and made ſuch uſe of it as they thought moſt conduced to their Own ends. The *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners propoſed, "That for the avoiding the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, there "might be ſome way found to prevent all acts of Hoſtility on "either ſide; which could not poſſibly be done, except ſome "order was given for the payment of Their Army, which "was yet reſtrain'd to cloſe and narrow Quarters. And the truth is, they were in daily fear that thoſe Quarters would have been beaten up, and ſo the ill Courage of their Men too eaſily diſcover'd, who were more taught to ſing Pſalms, and

to

to Pray, than to uſe their Armes; their hopes of prevailing being, from the beginning, founded upon an aſſurance that they ſhould not be put to Fight.

THERE had been in that infamous Rout at *Newburn* two or three Officers of Quality taken Priſoners, who endeavouring to Charge the Enemy with the Courage they ought to do, being deſerted by their Troops could not avoid falling into the *Scots* hands; two of which were *Wilmot*, who was Commiſſary-General of the Horſe, and *ONeal* who was Major of a Regiment; both Officers of Name and Reputation, and of good eſteem in the Court with all Thoſe who were incenſed againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, towards whom they were both very indevoted. Theſe Gentlemen were well known to ſeveral of the principal Commanders in the *Scotiſh* Army (who had ſerv'd together with them in *Holland* under the Prince of *Orange*) and were treated with great civility in their Camp; and when the Commiſſioners came to *Rippon*, they brought them with them, and preſented them to the King by his Commiſſioners, to whom they were very acceptable; and did thoſe who deliver'd them more Service by the Reports they made of them in the Army when they return'd to their Charges, and in the Court, than they could have done by remaining Priſoners with them; and contributed very much to the irreconciling the Army to the Earl of *Strafford*, who was to Command it.

AFTER few days the Commiſſioners return'd to the King at *York*, and gave him an account of what had paſs'd, and of the extraordinary Affection of the *Scots* to his Majeſty's Service; and *Wilmot* and *ONeal* magnify'd the good diſcipline and order obſerv'd in the Army, and made their numbers to be believ'd much ſuperior to what in truth they were.

The Counſellors about the King at York.

THREE of the Commiſſioners, and no more, were of the King's Council, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, who were all inſpir'd by the *Scots*, and lik'd well all that they pretended to deſire. Beſides thoſe, the King had no body to conſult with but the Lord Keeper *Finch*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and Sr *Harry Vane* principal Secretary of State. The firſt of which, the Lord Keeper, was obnoxious to ſo many Reproaches, that though his Affection and Fidelity was very entire to the King, all his care was to provoke no more Enemies, and to ingratiate himſelf to as many of thoſe as he perceiv'd were like to be able to protect him, which he knew the King would not be able to do; and towards this he labour'd with all induſtry and dexterity. The Duke of *Richmond* was young, and uſed to diſcourſe with his Majeſty in his Bed-Chamber rather than at the Council-Board, and a Man of Honour and Fidelity in

all

all places; and in no degree of confidence with his Countrymen, becauſe he would not admit himſelf into any of their Intrigues. The Marquis had leave to be wary, and would give his Enemies no new advantages.

NOR indeed was there any man's advice of much credit with the King, but that of the Earl of *Strafford*; who had no reaſon to declare his opinion, upon ſo nice a ſubject in the preſence of the Earl of *Holland* and Sr *Harry Vane*; and thought there was only one way to be purſu'd (which was not to be Communicated at the Council) and that was to drive the *Scots* out of the Kingdom by the Army: and without conſidering what was done at the Treaty (which had not yet agreed upon any Ceſſation) he ſent a good Party of Horſe, Commanded by Major *Smith*, to fall upon a *Scotiſh* Quarter in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, who defeated two or three of their Troops, and took all their Officers Priſoners, and made it manifeſt enough that the Kingdom might be rid of the reſt, if it were vigorouſly purſu'd; which the Earl of *Strafford* heartily intended. But *Leſly*, the *Scotiſh* General, complain'd "that He himſelf had forborn to make any ſuch attempt out "of reſpect to the Treaty; and the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners thought Themſelves neglected, and affronted by it. And when it was found that his Officer who conducted that Enterprize was a Roman Catholick, it made more noiſe; and they prevail'd with the King to reſtrain his General from giving out any more ſuch Orders.

THE King begun ſo far to diſlike the temper of the Commiſſioners, that he thought the Parliament would be more jealous of his Honour, and more ſenſible of the Indignities he ſuffer'd by the *Scots*, than the Commiſſioners appear'd to be; and therefore he ſent them back to *Rippon* again to renew the Treaty, and to conclude a Ceſſation of Armes upon as good terms as they could; ſo that the *Scotiſh* Army might not advance into *York-ſhire*, nor enlarge their Quarters any way beyond what they were already poſſeſs'd of: and this Conceſſion being agreed to, they ſhould not enter upon any other particulars, but adjourn the Treaty to *London*; which was the only thing the *Scots* deſir'd, and without This they could never have brought their deſigns to paſs. When the other Lords return'd to *Rippon*, the Earl of *Pembroke* (as a Man of a great Fortune, and at that time very Popular) was ſent with two or three other Lords to *London*, with a Letter from the King, and a ſubſcription from the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaty (which was then more powerful) to borrow two hundred thouſand pounds from the City, for the payment of both Armies whilſt the Ceſſation and Treaty ſhould continue; "which they hop'd would quickly be at an

"end

"end, and the *Scots* return into their own Country. The City was easily perswaded to furnish the Money, to be paid out of the first that should be rais'd by the Parliament; which was very shortly to meet.

A Cessation agreed on.

THE Commissioners at *Rippon* quickly agreed upon the Cessation; and were not unwilling to have allow'd fifty thousand pounds a Month for the support of the *Scotish* Army, when they did assign but thirty thousand pounds a Month for the payment of the King's; and to have taken the *Scotish* Commissioners words for their Musters, which made their numbers so much superior to the other: but that sum of fifty thousand pounds a Month was afterwards reduc'd to about five and twenty thousand; and the whole amounting to above fifty thousand pounds a Month, was a sum too great for the Kingdom to pay long, as was then generally believ'd. It was pretended that two Months would put an end to the Treaty; so that the two hundred thousand pounds, which the City had supply'd, would discharge all the Disbanding: and in this hope the King confirm'd the Cessation, and sent a Safe Conduct for such Commissioners as the *Scots* should think fit to send to *London* for the carrying on the Treaty.

The Treaty adjourn'd to London, whither the King returns.

ALL which being done, the King and the Lords left *York*, that they might be at *London* before the beginning of the Parliament; the Earl of *Strafford* staying still in the North to put the Army into as good a posture as he could, and to suppress the Mutinous Spirit it was inclin'd to; and if it were possible, to dispose that great County (of which he had the entire Command) to a better temper towards the King's Service, and to a greater indignation towards the *Scots*; of whom they did not use to have too Charitable an opinion. But in both these applications he underwent great mortifications; the Officers of the Army every day asking his leave to repair to *London*, being chosen to serve in Parliament; and when he denied to give them Passes, they went away without them: and the Gentlemen of the Country who had most depended upon him, and been oblig'd by him, withdrawing their application and attendance, and entring into Combination with his greatest Enemies against him.

IT is not to be denied, the King was in very great Straits, and had it not in his power absolutely to choose which way he would go; and well foresaw, that a Parliament in that conjuncture of Affairs would not apply natural and proper Remedies to the Disease: for though it was not imaginable it would run the courses it afterwards did, yet it was visible enough he must resign very much to their affections and appetite (which were not like to be contain'd within any modest bounds) and therefore no question his Majesty did not

think

think of calling a Parliament at firſt, but was wrought to it by degrees: Yet the great Council could not but produce the other; where the unskilfulneſs and paſſion of ſome for want of diſcerning Conſequences, and a general ſharpneſs and animoſity againſt Perſons, did more miſchief than the power or malice of Thoſe who had a form'd deſign of Confuſion: for without doubt that Fire at that time (which did ſhortly after burn the whole Kingdom) might have been cover'd under a buſhel. So as in truth there was no Counſel ſo neceſſary then, as for the King to have continu'd in his Army, and to have drawn none thither but ſuch as were more afraid of diſhonour than danger; and to have truſted the Juſtice and Power of the Law with ſuppreſſing of Tumults, and quieting Diſorders in his Rear.

IT is ſtrange, and had ſomewhat of a Judgement from Heaven in it, that all the Induſtry and Learning of the late years had been beſtow'd in finding out and evincing, that in caſe of Neceſſity any extraordinary way for ſupply was Lawful; and upon that ground had proceeded when there was no Neceſſity; and now when the Neceſſity was apparent, Money muſt be levied in the ordinary courſe of Parliament; which was then more extraordinary than the other had been; as *York* muſt be defended from an Enemy within twenty five miles of it, by Money to be given at *London* ſix Weeks after, and to be gather'd within ſix Months. It had been only the ſeaſon and evidence of Neceſſity that had been queſtion'd; and the view of it in a Perſpective of State at a diſtance that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough for an Impoſition: as no man could pull down his Neighbours houſe becauſe it ſtood next Furſe, or Thatch, or ſome combuſtible matter which might take fire; though he might do it when that combuſtible matter was really a fire. But it was never denied that *flagrante bello*, when an Enemy had actually invaded the Kingdom, and ſo the Neceſſity both ſeen and felt, all mens goods are the goods of the Publick, to be apply'd to the Publick ſafety, and as carefully to be repair'd by the Publick ſtock. And it is very probable (ſince the Factions within, and the Correſpondence abroad was ſo apparent, that a Parliament then call'd would do the buſineſs of the *Scots*, and of Thoſe who invited them hither) that if the King had poſitively declar'd, that he would have no Parliament as long as that Army ſtaid in *England*, but as ſoon as they were retir'd into their own Country He would Summon one, and refer all matters to Their advice, and even be adviſ'd by Them in the compoſing the diſtractions of *Scotland*: I ſay, it is probable, that they would either willingly have left the Kingdom, or ſpeedily have been com-

pell'd; there being at that time an Army in *Ireland* (as was said before) ready to have visited *Scotland*.

NEITHER would the Indisposition of the King's Army (which was begot only by those infusions, that there must of necessity be a Parliament, which would prevent farther Fighting) have lasted, when they found those Authors confuted; for the Army was constituted of good Officers, which were more capable of being deceiv'd by their Friends, than impos'd upon by their Enemies; and they had their Soldiers in good devotion, and the business of *Newburn* would rather have spurr'd them on than restrain'd them. And it had been much the best course that could have been taken, if, after the fright at *Newburn*, the King as well as the Earl of *Strafford* had made hast to *Durham*, and kept that Post, without staying at *York*; and, after some exemplary Justice and Disgrace upon the chief Officers who were faulty, till the Army had recover'd their Spirits (which in a very short time it did with shame and indignation enough) had march'd directly against the *Scots*; by which they would have speedily dispossess'd them of their new Conquest, and forc'd them to have run distracted into their own Country; as may be reasonably concluded from their behaviour whenever they were assaulted afterwards by the *English*.

AND it is as strange that the experience of the last Summer, when the attendance of so great a number of the Nobility (who had no mind to the War, and as little devotion to the Court) was the true ground and cause of that ridiculous Pacification, did not prevail with the King never to Convene the same company to him again; which could do him very little good if they had desir'd it; and could not but do him more harm than even the worst of them at that time intended to do: For it might very easily have been foreseen, that the calling so many discontented, or disoblig'd, or disaffected men together, with a liberty to consult and advise, very few whereof had that inclination and reverence of the Person of the King they ought to have had, though scarce any of them had at that time that mischief in their hearts which they afterwards discover'd against him, or indeed had the least purpose to Rebel: I say the calling such men together, could not but make men much worse than they came, and put worse thoughts into their heads than they brought with them, when the Miscarriage as well as the Misfortune of the Court would be the common argument and discourse; and when they would quickly discern, that it was like to be in every one of Their powers to contribute to the Destruction, at least to the Disgrace of Men they had no kindness for, and most of them great animosity against.

BUT

BUT the King was without the presence and attendance of any Man in whose Judgement and Wisdom he had a full confidence; for the Earl of *Strafford* was at the Army; and they who first propos'd the calling the Peers, knew well enough that the King knew Parliaments too well to be inclin'd to call one if they should propose it; and therefore They propos'd another expedient, which he knew not; and so was surpris'd with the advice (which he thought could do no harm) and gave direction for the issuing out of the Writs, before he enough consider'd whether it might not in truth produce some mischief he had not well thought of; as he quickly found. Nor did the *Scots* themselves resolve to give him more disquiet in the ensuing Parliament, than the major part of his great Council that he brought together resolv'd to concur with them in: and with that disposition, which they could never have contracted if they had remain'd by themselves, they all hasten'd to the place where they might do the Mischief they intended.

THE next Error to this was, that at the meeting of the great Council at *York*, and before any consent to the Treaty at *Rippon*, there was not a state made, and information given of the whole Proceedings in *Scotland*, and thereupon some debate and judgement by the whole Council before the Sixteen departed, for their information and instruction: and this had been strangely omitted before at the Pacification, insomuch as many who had been employ'd in that first at *the Berkes*, and in the last at *Rippon*, confess'd that none of them (and they were of the Prime Quality) then did, or ever after, know any thing of the Laws and Customs of that Kingdom (by which they might have judg'd whether the King had exceeded his just power, or any thing of the matter of Fact in the several transactions) but what they had receiv'd at those meetings from the Persons who were naturally to make their own defence, and so by accusing others to make their own case the more plausible; in which it could not be expected they would mention any thing to their own disadvantage.

BY Them they were told "of a Liturgy impos'd upon "them by their Bishops, contrary to, or without Act of Par- "liament, with strange circumstances of Severity and Rigour: "of some clauses in that Liturgy, different from that of the "Church of *England*; with pretty smart Comments of advice, and Animadversions upon those Alterations: "of a "Book of Canons, in which an extraordinary and extrava- "gant power was asserted to the Bishop: of a High Com- "mission Court, which exceeded all limits, and censur'd all "degrees of men: of the insolent Speeches of this Bishop to

"that Nobleman, and of the ill Life of another: of their "Own great Humility and Duty to their ſacred Soveraign, "without whoſe Favour and Protection they would not live: and laſtly, "of their ſeveral moſt ſubmiſs Addreſſes, by Pe- "tition and all other ways to his Majeſty, being deſirous, "when their Grievances were but heard, to lay Themſelves "and their Complaints at his Royal Feet, and to be moſt en- "tirely diſpos'd by him in ſuch manner, as to His wiſdom "alone ſhould be thought fit; but that by the power and in- "terpoſition of their Adverſaries, all their Supplications had "been rejected, and They never yet admitted to be heard.

WITH theſe and the like Artifices the good Lords were ſo wrought upon, and tranſported, that they eaſily Conſented to whatſoever was propos'd; nor was there any Propoſition made and inſiſted on by them at the firſt or ſecond Treaty, which was not for the matter fully Conſented to: whereas, if their Lordſhips had been fully advertis'd of the whole truth (though there had been ſome Inadvertencies and Incogitancy in the circumſtances of the tranſaction) his Majeſty had full power, by the Laws of *Scotland* then in force, to make that Reformation he intended. All their Petitions and Addreſſes had found moſt gracious acceptance, and receiv'd moſt gracious Anſwers. But on the contrary, They had invaded all the Rights of the Crown, alter'd the Government, affronted the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of Juſtice, and his Majeſty's own Regal Authority, with unheard of Inſolencies and Contempts; rejected all his offers of Grace and Pardon, and without cauſe or provocation denounced War againſt him; beſieg'd and taken the Caſtle of *Edenborough*, and other Places which held for his Majeſty: I ſay, if This had been made as evident to them as ſurely it might have been made, it is not poſſible but thoſe Noble perſons would have preſerv'd themſelves from being deluded by them; at leaſt many of the Inconveniencies which after enſued would have been prevented, if the form and method of their Proceedings had been preſcrib'd, or better look'd into.

BUT it muſt be confeſs'd, that in that conjuncture ſuch neceſſary Evidence and Information could very hardly be given: for though it muſt not be doubted that there were many particular Perſons of Honour of that Nation who abhorr'd the Outrages which were committed, and retain'd within their own breaſts very Loyal wiſhes for his Majeſty's Proſperity; yet it cannot be denied that thoſe Perſons, who by the Places they held (of King's Advocate, and other Offices) ought to have made that Information of matter of Law, and matter of Fact, were Themſelves the moſt active Promoters of the Rebellion; and the Defection was ſo general, and ſo few

few declar'd, or were active on his Majesty's behalf, that they who were not corrupted, in their inward Fidelity, were so Terrified, that they durst not appear in any Office that might provoke Those who solely had the power and will to destroy them.

THE last and most confounding Error was the removing the Treaty to *London*, and upon any terms consenting that the *Scotish* Commissioners should reside there before a Peace concluded. By which means, they had not only opportunity to publish all their Counsels and Directions in their Sermons to the People (who resorted thither in incredible numbers) and to give their Advice, from time to time, to Those of the *English* who knew not so well yet to compass their Own ends, but were ready (when any business was too big and unweildy to be manag'd by the few who were yet throughly engag'd) to interpose in the name of Their Nation, and with reference to Things or Persons to make such demands from and on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as under no other style would have receiv'd any Countenance; and this brought that universal Terror with it (as will appear to the life in the process of this History) upon Those of neareſt relation to the King's Service, as well as Those at a greater distance, who clearly discern'd and detested the Villany and Wickedness of those Transactions, that their wariness and wisdom could not be great enough to preserve them, if they did not stupidly look on without seeming to understand what they could in no degree controul or prevent.

IN all Conspiracies there must be great secrecy, consent, and union; yet it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what entire Confidence in each other, the numerous and not very rich Nobility of *Scotland* (for of the Common People, who are naturally very dependent on the other, there can be no wonder) concurr'd in the carrying on this Rebellion: their strange Condescension and Submission to their ignorant and insolent Clergy, who were to have great Authority because they were to inflame all sorts of Men upon the obligations of Conscience; and in order thereunto, and to revenge a little Indiscretion and ill Manners of some of the Bishops, had liberty to erect a Tribunal the most Tyrannical over all sorts of Men, and in all the Families of the Kingdom: so that the Preacher reprehended the Husband, govern'd the Wife, chastis'd the Children, and insulted over the Servants, in the Houses of the Greatest Men. They referr'd the management and conduct of the whole Affair to a Committee of a few, who had never before exercis'd any Office or Authority in the Publick, with that perfect resignation and obedience, that no body presum'd to enquire what was to be done, or to murmur at, or censure

any thing that was done; and the General himself, and the Martial Affairs, were subject to this *Regimen* and Discipline as well as the Civil: yet They who were intrusted with this Superiority, paid all the outward respect and reverence to the person of the General, as if all the power and disposal had been in Him alone.

THE few *English* (for there were yet but very few who were intrusted from the beginning of the Enterprize, and with all that was then projected) were Men of reserv'd and dark natures, of great industry and address, and of much reputation for probity and integrity of Life, and who trusted none but those who were contented to be trusted to that degree as they were willing to trust them without being inquisitive into more than they were ready to Communicate, and for the rest depended upon their discretion and judgement; and so prepar'd and dispos'd, by second and third hands, many to concur and contribute to several preparatory Actions, who would never have consented to the conclusions which naturally resulted from those premises.

THIS united strength, and humble and active temper, was not encounter'd by an equal providence and circumspection in the King's Councils, or an equal temper and dutiful disposition in the Court; nor did they who resolv'd honestly and stoutly to discharge the Offices of good Servants and good Subjects to the utmost opposition of all unlawful attempts, communicate their purposes to Men of the same Integrity, that so they might unite their Counsels as well in the manner and way, as their resolutions in the end. But every one thought it enough to preserve his own Innocence, and to leave the Rest to those who should have Authority to direct. The King was perplex'd and irresolute, and according to his natural constitution (which never dispos'd him to jealousy of any Man of whom he had once thought well) was full of hope, that his condition was not so bad as it seem'd to be. The Queen wish'd much better to the Earl of *Holland*, than to the Arch-Bishop or the Earl of *Strafford*, neither of Them being in any degree acceptable to Her; so that she was little concern'd for the danger that threatned them: but when she saw the King's Honour and Dignity invaded in the prosecution, she withdrew her favour from the Earl of *Holland*: but then she was perswaded, by those who had most credit with her, to believe, that by the removal of the great Ministers, Her Power and Authority would be encreas'd, and that the prevailing Party would be willing to depend upon Her; and that by gratifying the principal Persons of them with such Preferments as they affected, she should quickly reconcile all ill humours: and so she hearkned to any Overtures of that kind; which were

always

always carried on without the consent or privity of those who were concern'd, who in truth more disliked Her absolute Power with the King, than any other Excess of the Court, and look'd upon it as the greatest Grievance. Every Man There consider'd only what application would be most like to raise his Own Fortune, or to do Those harm with whom he was angry, and gave himself wholely up to those Artifices which might promote either. To preserve themselves from the displeasure and censure of the Parliament, and to render themselves gracious to Those who were like to be powerful in it, was all Men's business and sollicitude. And in this very unequal and disproportion'd condition and temper, was the King's and the *Scotish* Army, the Court and the Country, when the Parliament met.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE History of the Rebellion, &c.

BOOK III.

Deut. XII. 3.

Take heed to thy ſelf, that thou be not ſnared by following them, and that thou enquire not after their Gods, ſaying, How did theſe Nations ſerve their Gods? even ſo will I do likewiſe.

Judg. II. 3.

—But they ſhall be as Thorns in your Sides, and their Gods ſhall be a Snare unto you.

The Parliament meet November the Third, 1640.

THE Parliament met upon the Third of *November* 1640, with a fuller appearance than could be reaſonably expected, from the ſhort time for Elections after the iſſuing out the Writs; inſomuch as at the firſt not many Members were abſent. It had a ſad and melancholick Aſpect upon the firſt entrance, which preſag'd ſome unuſual and unnatural events. The King himſelf did not Ride with his accuſtom'd Equipage nor in his uſual Majeſty to *Weſtminſter*, but went privately in his Barge to the Parliament Stairs, and after to the Church, as if it had been to a return of a Prorogued or Adjourn'd Parliament. And there was likewiſe an untoward, and in truth an unheard of accident, which broke many of the King's meaſures, and infinitely diſorder'd his Service beyond a capacity of reparation. From the time the calling a Parliament was reſolv'd upon, the King deſign'd Sr *Thomas Gardiner*, who was Recorder of *London*, to be Speaker in the Houſe of Commons; a Man of gravity and quickneſs, that had ſomewhat of authority and gracefulneſs in his Perſon and Preſence, and in all reſpects equal to the Service. There was little doubt but that he would be choſen to ſerve in one of the four places for the City of *London*,

London, which had very rarely rejected their Recorder upon that occaſion; and leſt that ſhould fail, diligence was us'd in one or two other places that he might be elected. The oppoſition was ſo great, and the Faction ſo ſtrong, to hinder his being Elected in the City, that four others were choſen for that Service, without hardly mentioning his name: nor was there leſs induſtry us'd to prevent his being choſen in other places; Clerks were corrupted not to make out the Writ for one place, and ways were found out to hinder the Writ from being executed in another, time enough for the Return before the meeting: ſo great a fear there was, that a Man of entire Affections to the King, and of prudence enough to manage thoſe Affections, and to regulate the contrary, ſhould be put into the Chair. So that the very morning the Parliament was to meet, and when the King intended to go thither, he was inform'd that Sr *Thomas Gardiner* was not return'd to ſerve as a Member in the Houſe of Commons, and ſo was not capable of being choſen to be Speaker; ſo that his Majeſty deferr'd his going to the Houſe till the afternoon, by which time he was to think of another Speaker.

UPON the peruſal of all the Returns into the Crown Office, there were not found many Lawyers of eminent Name, (though many of them prov'd very Eminent Men afterwards) or who had ſerv'd long in former Parliaments, the experience whereof was to be wiſh'd; and Men of that Profeſſion had been moſt commonly thought the moſt proper for that Service, and the putting it out of that Channel at that time was thought too hazardous: ſo that, after all the deliberation the ſhortneſs of that time would admit, Mr *Lenthall*, a Bencher of *Lincolns* Inn (a Lawyer of competent practice, and no ill reputation for his Affection to the Government both of Church and State) was pitch'd upon by the King, and with very great difficulty rather prevail'd with than perſwaded to accept the Charge. And no doubt a worſe could not have been deputed of all that Profeſſion who were then return'd; for he was a Man of a very narrow, timorous nature, and of no experience or converſation in the Affairs of the Kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery in his Profeſſion (in which all his deſign was to make himſelf Rich) engag'd him in. In a word, he was in all reſpects very unequal to the Work, and not knowing how to preſerve his Own dignity, or to reſtrain the Licence and Exorbitance of Others, his Weakneſs contributed as much to the growing Miſchiefs, as the Malice of the principal contrivers. However, after the King had that afternoon recommended the diſtracted Condition of the Kingdom (with too little Majeſty) to the Wiſdom of the two Houſes of Parliament, to have ſuch reformation and remedies applied as

They

They ſhould think fit, propoſing to them, as the beſt rule for their Counſels, "That all things ſhould be reduced to the "practice of the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Houſe of Commons no ſooner return'd to their Houſe, then they choſe Mr *Lenthall* to be their Speaker; and two days after, with the uſual ceremonies and circumſtances, preſented him to the King, who declar'd his acceptation; and ſo both Houſes were ready for the Work.

Mr Lenthall made Speaker.

THERE was obſerv'd a marvellous elated Countenance in many of the Members of Parliament before they met together in the Houſe; the ſame Men who ſix months before were obſerv'd to be of very moderate Tempers, and to wiſh that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide and expoſing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiſs than too ſtrictly to make inquiſition into the cauſes and original of the Malady, talk'd now in another dialect both of Things and Perſons; and ſaid "that they muſt now "be of another temper than they were the laſt Parliament; "that they muſt not only ſweep the Houſe clean below, but "muſt pull down all the Cobwebs which hung in the top "and corners, that they might not breed duſt, and ſo make a "foul Houſe hereafter; That they had now an opportunity "to make their Country happy, by removing all Grievances, "and pulling up the Cauſes of them by the Roots, if all Men "would do their Duties; and us'd much other ſharp diſcourſe to the ſame purpoſe: by which it was diſcern'd, that the warmeſt and boldeſt Counſels and Overtures, would find a much better reception than thoſe of a more temperate allay; which fell out accordingly: and the very firſt day they met together, in which they could enter upon buſineſs, Mr *Pym*, in a long, form'd diſcourſe, lamented the miſerable ſtate and condition of the Kingdom, aggravated all the particulars which had been done amiſs in the Government, as "done "and contriv'd maliciouſly, and upon deliberation, to change "the whole Frame, and to deprive the Nation of all the Li-"berty and Property which was their Birthright by the Laws "of the Land, which were now no more conſider'd, but ſub-"jected to the Arbitrary Power of the Privy-Council, which "govern'd the Kingdom according to Their will and plea-"ſure; theſe Calamities falling upon us in the Reign of a Pi-"ous and Virtuous King, who lov'd his People, and was a "great lover of Juſtice. And thereupon enlarging in ſome ſpecious commendation of the nature and goodneſs of the King, that he might wound him with leſs ſuſpicion, he ſaid, "We "muſt enquire from what Fountain theſe Waters of bitter-"neſs flow'd; what Perſons They were who had ſo far inſi-"nuated themſelves into his Royal Affections, as to be able

Mr Pym begins the debate of Grievances.

"to

« to pervert his excellent Judgement, to abuſe his Name, and « wickedly apply His Authority to countenance and ſupport « their Own corrupt deſigns. Though he doubted there would « be Many found of this *Claſſis*, who had contributed their « joint endeavours to bring this miſery upon the Nation; « Yet he believ'd there was One more ſignal in that Admini- « ſtration than the reſt, being a Man of great parts and con- « trivance, and of great induſtry to bring what he deſign'd « to paſs; a Man, who, in the memory of many preſent, had « ſate in that Houſe an earneſt vindicator of the Laws, and a « moſt zealous Aſſertor and Champion for the Liberties of the « People; but that it was long ſince he turn'd Apoſtate from « thoſe good Affections, and according to the cuſtom and na- « ture of Apoſtates, was become the greateſt Enemy to the « Liberties of his Country, and the greateſt promoter of Ty- « ranny that any Age had produc'd. And then he nam'd « the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and Lord « Preſident of the Council eſtabliſh'd in *York* for the Northern « Parts of the Kingdom; who, he ſaid, had in both Places, « and in all other Provinces wherein his ſervice had been « us'd by the King, rais'd ample monuments of his Tyranni- « cal nature; and that he believ'd, if they took a ſhort ſurvey « of his actions and behaviour, they would find him the « principal Author and Promoter of all thoſe Counſels which « had expos'd the Kingdom to ſo much Ruin: and ſo in- ſtanc'd in ſome high and imperious actions done by him in *England* and in *Ireland*, ſome proud and over confident ex- preſſions in diſcourſe, and ſome paſſionate advices he had given in the moſt ſecret Councils and Debates of the affairs of State; adding ſome lighter paſſages of his vanity and amours; that they who were not inflam'd with anger and deteſtation againſt him for the former, might have leſs eſteem and reve- rence for his prudence and diſcretion: and ſo concluded, « That they would well conſider how to provide a Remedy « proportionable to the Diſeaſe, and to prevent the farther « Miſchiefs they were to expect from the continuance of this « great Man's power and credit with the King, and his influ- « ence upon His Counſels.

FROM the time that the Earl of *Strafford* was nam'd, moſt Men believ'd that there would be ſome Committee ap- pointed to receive information of all his miſcarriages, and that, upon report thereof, they would farther conſider what courſe to take in the examination and proſecution thereof; but they had already prepar'd and digeſted their buſineſs to a riper period.

Mr PYM had no ſooner finiſh'd his diſcourſe, than Sr *John Clotworthy* (a Gentleman of *Ireland*, and utterly unknown

in

in *England*, who was, by the contrivance and recommendation of ſome powerful perſons, return'd to ſerve for a Burrough in *Devon-ſhire*, that ſo he might be enabled to act This part againſt the Lord Lieutenant) made a long and confus'd relation "of his Tyrannical carriage in that Kingdom; of the "Army he had rais'd there to invade *Scotland*; how he had "threaten'd the Parliament, if they granted not ſuch Supplies "as he requir'd; of an Oath he had fram'd to be adminiſter'd "to all the *Scotiſh* Nation which inhabited that Kingdom, and "his ſevere proceedings againſt ſome Perſons of Quality who "refus'd to take that Oath; and that he had with great pride "and paſſion publickly declar'd at his leaving that Kingdom, "If ever he ſhould return to that Sword, he would not leave "a *Scotiſh*-man to inhabit in *Ireland*: with a multitude of very exalted expreſſions, and ſome very high actions in his adminiſtration of that Government, in which the Lives as well as the Fortunes of men had been diſpos'd of out of the common road of Juſtice: all which, made him to be look'd upon as a man very terrible, and under whoſe authority men would not chooſe to put themſelves.

SEVERAL other Perſons appearing ready to continue the diſcourſe, and the morning being ſpent, ſo that, according to the obſervation of Parliament hours, the time of riſing was come, an Order was ſuddainly made "that the door ſhould "be ſhut, and no body ſuffer'd to go out of the Houſe; which had rarely been practis'd: care having been firſt taken, to give ſuch advertiſement to ſome of the Lords that that Houſe might likewiſe be kept from riſing; which would otherwiſe very much have broken their meaſures.

THEN Sr *John Hotham*, and ſome other *York-ſhire* men, who had receiv'd ſome diſobligation from the Earl in the Country, continued the Invective, mentioning many particulars of his imperious carriage, and that he had, in the face of the Country, upon the execution of ſome illegal Commiſſion, declar'd, "that they ſhould find the little finger of the King's "Prerogative heavier upon them than the loyns of the Law; which expreſſion, though upon after-examination it was found to have a quite contrary ſenſe, marvellouſly increas'd the Paſſion and Prejudice towards him.

IN concluſion, after many hours of bitter inveighing, and ripping up the courſe of his life before his coming to Court, and his Actions after, it was mov'd, according to the ſecret Reſolution taken before, "that he might be forthwith "Impeach'd of High Treaſon; which was no ſooner mention'd, than it found an univerſal approbation and conſent from the whole Houſe: nor was there, in all the debate, one perſon who offer'd to ſtop the Torrent by any favourable teſtimony

concerning

concerning the Earl's carriage, ſave only that the Lord *Falkland* (who was very well known to be far from having any kindneſs for him) when the Propoſition was made for the Preſent accuſing him of High Treaſon, modeſtly deſir'd the Houſe to conſider, "Whether it would not ſuit better with "the gravity of their Proceedings, firſt to digeſt many of "thoſe particulars which had been mention'd, by a Com- "mittee, before they ſent up to accuſe him? declaring him- "ſelf to be abundantly ſatisfy'd that there was enough to "charge him: which was very ingenuouſly, and frankly anſwer'd by Mr *Pym*, "That ſuch a delay might probably "blaſt all their hopes, and put it out of their power to pro- "ceed farther than they had done already; that the Earl's "power and credit with the King, and with all thoſe who "had moſt credit with King or Queen, was ſo great, that "when he ſhould come to know that ſo much of his Wicked- "neſs was diſcover'd, his own Conſcience would tell him "What he was to expect; and therefore he would undoubt- "edly procure the Parliament to be Diſſolv'd, rather than un- "dergo the Juſtice of it, or take ſome other deſperate courſe "to preſerve Himſelf, though with the hazard of the King- "dom's ruin: Whereas, if they preſently ſent up to im- "peach him of High Treaſon before the Houſe of Peers, in "the Name and on the behalf of all the Commons of *Eng- "land*, who were repreſented by them, the Lords would be "oblig'd in Juſtice to commit him into ſafe Cuſtody, and ſo "ſequeſter him from reſorting to Council, or having acceſs "to his Majeſty; and then they ſhould proceed againſt him "in the uſual form with all neceſſary expedition.

To thoſe who were known to have no kindneſs for him, and ſeem'd to doubt whether all the particulars alledg'd, being prov'd, would amount to High Treaſon, it was alledg'd, "That the Houſe of Commons were not Judges, but only "Accuſers, and that the Lords were the proper Judges whe- "ther ſuch a complication of Enormous Crimes in one Per- "ſon, did not amount to the higheſt Offence the Law took "notice of, and therefore that it was fit to preſent it to Them. Theſe reaſons of the haſt they made, ſo clearly deliver'd, gave that univerſal ſatisfaction, that without farther conſider- ing the Injuſtice and Unreaſonableneſs of it, they Voted una- nimouſly (for ought appear'd to the contrary by any avow'd contradiction) "That they would forthwith ſend up to the "Lords and accuſe the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treaſon, and "ſeveral other Crimes and Miſdemeanours, and deſire that "he might be preſently ſequeſter'd from the Council, and "committed to ſafe Cuſtody; and Mr *Pym* was made choice of for the Meſſenger to perform that office. This being de-

The Commons impeach the Earl of Strafford of High Treaſon.

termin'd,

termin'd, the doors were open'd, and moſt of the Houſe accompanied him on the Errand.

IT was about three of the Clock in the afternoon, when the Earl of *Strafford* (being infirm, and not well diſpos'd in his health, and ſo not having ſtirr'd out of his houſe that morning) hearing that both Houſes ſtill ſate, thought fit to go thither. It was believ'd by ſome (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haſt then to accuſe the Lord *Say*, and ſome others, of having induced the *Scots* to invade the Kingdom; but he was ſcarce enter'd into the Houſe of Peers, when the Meſſage from the Houſe of Commons was call'd in, and when Mr *Pym* at the Bar, and in the Name of all the Commons of *England*, impeach'd *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* (with the addition of all his other Titles) of High Treaſon, and ſeveral other heinous Crimes and Miſdemeanours, of which he ſaid the Commons would in due time make proof in form; and in the mean time deſir'd in Their name, that he might be ſequeſter'd from all Counſels, and be put into ſafe Cuſtody: and ſo withdrawing, the Earl was, with more Clamour than was ſuitable to the gravity of that Supreme Court, call'd upon to Withdraw, hardly obtaining leave to be firſt heard in his place, which could not be denied him.

HE then lamented "his great Misfortune to lie under ſo "heavy a charge; profeſs'd his Innocence and Integrity, "which he made no doubt he ſhould make appear to them; "deſir'd that he might have his Liberty, until ſome Guilt "ſhould be prov'd; and deſir'd them to conſider, what miſ-"chief they ſhould bring upon Themſelves, if upon ſuch a ge-"neral Charge, without the mention of any one Crime, a Peer "of the Realm ſhould be committed to Priſon, and ſo de-"priv'd of his Place in that Houſe, where he was ſummon'd "by the King's Writ to aſſiſt in their Counſels; and of what "conſequence ſuch a Precedent might be to their Own Pri-"vilege and Birthright: and then withdrew. The Peers with very little debate reſolv'd "he ſhould be committed to "the Cuſtody of the Gentleman Uſher of the Black-rod, "there to remain until the Houſe of Commons ſhould bring "in a particular Charge againſt him: which determination of the Houſe was pronounced to him at the Bar upon his Knees, by the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, upon the Wool-ſack: and ſo being taken away by *Maxwell*, Gentleman Uſher, Mr *Pym* was call'd in, and inform'd what the Houſe had done; after which (it being then about four of the Clock) both Houſes adjourn'd till the next day.

The Earl is committed to the Black-rod.

WHEN this work was ſo proſperouſly over, they begun to conſider, that notwithſtanding all the Induſtry that had been

been uſed to procure ſuch Members to be choſen, or return'd though not choſen, who had been moſt refractory to the Government of the Church and State; yet that the Houſe was ſo conſtituted, that when the firſt heat (which almoſt all men brought with them) ſhould be a little allay'd, violent counſels would not be long hearken'd to: and therefore, As they took great care by the Committee of Elections to remove as many of thoſe Members as they ſuſpected not to be inclinable to their Paſſions, upon pretence "that they were not regu-"larly choſen, that ſo they might bring in others more ply-able in Their places; in which no rule of Juſtice was ſo much as pretended to be obſerv'd by them; inſomuch as it was often ſaid by leading men amongſt them, "That they ought "in thoſe caſes of Elections to be guided by the fitneſs and "worthineſs of the Perſon, whatſoever the deſire of thoſe "was in whom the Right of Election remain'd; and there-fore one man hath been admitted upon the ſame rule by which another hath been rejected: So they declar'd, "That "no Perſon how Lawfully and Regularly ſoever choſen and "return'd, ſhould be and ſit as a Member with them, who "had been a party or favourer of any Project, or who had "been employ'd in any illegal Commiſſion.

By this means (contrary to the Cuſtoms and Rights of Parliament) many Gentlemen of good Quality were remov'd, in whoſe places commonly others were choſen of more agree-able diſpoſitions: but in this likewiſe there was no rule ob-ſerv'd; for no perſon was hereby remov'd, of whom there was any hope that he might be apply'd to the violent courſes which were intended. Upon which occaſion the King charg'd them in one of his Declarations, "that when, under that no-"tion of Projectors, they expell'd many, they yet never "queſtion'd Sr *Henry Mildmay*, or Mr *Laurence Whitaker*; who had been moſt ſcandalouſly engag'd in thoſe Preſſures, though ſince more ſcandalouſly in all enterprizes againſt his Majeſty; to which never any anſwer or reply was made.

The next Art, was to make the Severity and Rigour of the Houſe as formidable as was poſſible, and to make as many men apprehend themſelves obnoxious to the Houſe, as had been in any Truſt or employment in the Kingdom. Thus they paſs'd many general Votes concerning Ship-money, in which, all who had been High Sheriffs, and ſo collected it, were highly concern'd. The like ſharp Concluſions were made upon all Lords Lieutenants and their Deputies, which were the prime Gentlemen of Quality in all the Counties of *England*. Then upon ſome diſquiſition of the Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, and at the Council-Table, all who con-curr'd in ſuch a Sentence, and conſented to ſuch an Order,

were

were declar'd Criminal, and to be proceeded againſt. So that, in a moment, All the Lords of the Council, All who had been Deputy-Lieutenants, or High Sheriffs, during the late years, found themſelves within the mercy of theſe grand Inquiſitors: and hearing new terms of Art, that a complication of ſeveral Miſdemeanours might grow up to Treaſon, and the like, it was no wonder if men deſir'd by all means to get Their favour and protection.

The Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury accus'd of High Treaſon.

WHEN they had ſufficiently ſtartled men by theſe Proceedings, and upon half an hour's debate, ſent up an Accuſation againſt the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* of High Treaſon, and ſo remov'd Him likewiſe from the King's Council, they reſted ſatisfied with their general Rules, Votes, and Orders, without making haſt to proceed either againſt Things or Perſons; being willing, rather to keep men in Suſpence, and to have the advantage of their Fears, than, by letting them ſee the Worſt that could befall them, loſe the benefit of their Application. For this reaſon they us'd their utmoſt skill to keep off any Debate of Ship-money, that that whole buſineſs might hang like a Meteor over the heads of thoſe that were in any degree faulty in it; and it was obſervable, when, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to divert it, that buſineſs was brought into debate, and upon that (which could not be avoided) the Lord *Finch* nam'd as an avow'd Factor and Procurer of that odious Judgement; who, if Their rule were true, "that an endeavour to alter the Government "by Law, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power, were Trea-"ſon, was the moſt notoriouſly and unexcuſably guilty of that Crime of any man that could be nam'd; Before they would endure the mention of an accuſation of High Treaſon, they appointed a Committee, with great deliberation and ſolemnity, to bring in a charge Formally prepar'd (which had not been done in the caſe of the Lord Arch-Biſhop, or the Earl of *Strafford*) and then gave him a day to be heard for himſelf at the Houſe of Commons Bar, whereby, againſt all Order, he was to take notice of what was handled in the Houſe concerning himſelf; and then finding that, by their own Rules, He would be likewiſe accus'd of High Treaſon, they continued the Debate ſo long, that the Lords Houſe was riſen, ſo that the Accuſation was not carried up till the next morning; and before that time, the Lord Keeper (being well inform'd of all that had paſs'd) had withdrawn himſelf; and ſhortly after went into *Holland*: the Lord *Littleton*, then Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas, being made Keeper of the great Seal of *England* in his place.

The Lord Keeper Finch withdrew beyond Sea:

ABOUT the ſame time, Sr *Francis Windebank*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and then a Member of the

House of Commons, was accus'd of many transactions on the behalf of the Papists, of several natures (whose extraordinary Patron indeed he was) and he being then present in the House, several Warrants under his own hand were produc'd for the discharge of Prosecutions against Priests, and for the release of Priests out of Prison: whereupon, whilst the matter should be debated, according to custom he was order'd to Withdraw, and so went into the usual place, the Committee-Chamber; immediately whereupon, the House of Commons went to a Conference with the Lords upon some other occasion, and returning from that Conference, no more resum'd the Debate of the Secretary, but having consider'd some other business, rose at their usual hour; and so the Secretary had liberty to go to his own house; from whence, observing the disposition of the House, and well knowing what they were able to say against him, he had no more mind to trust himself in that company, but the same night withdrew himself from any place where enquiry might be made for him, and was no more heard of till the news came of his being landed in *France*.

as did likewise Secretary Windebank.

So that within less than six weeks, for no more was yet elapsed, these terrible Reformers had caus'd the two greatest Counsellors of the Kingdom, and whom they most fear'd, and so hated, to be remov'd from the King, and imprison'd, under an accusation of High Treason; and frighted away the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and One of the Principal Secretaries of State, into Forreign Kingdoms, for fear of the like; besides the preparing all the Lords of the Council, and very many of the principal Gentlemen throughout *England*, who (as was said before) had been High Sheriffs, and Deputy Lieutenants, to expect such measure of Punishment from Their general Votes and Resolutions, as their future Demeanour should draw upon them, for their past Offences: by which means, they were like to find no vigorous Resistance or Opposition in their farther designs.

I COULD never yet learn the true reason, why they suffer'd Secretary *Windebank* to escape their Justice (for the Lord *Finch*, it was visible he was in their favour, and they would gladly have preserv'd him in the place) against whom they had more pregnant testimony of Offences within the verge of the Law, then against any person they have accus'd since this Parliament, and of some that, it may be, might have prov'd Capital, and so their appetite of Blood might have been satisfied: For, besides his frequent Letters of intercession in his Own name, and signification of his Majesty's Pleasure, on the behalf of Papists and Priests, to the Judges, and to other Ministers of Justice; and Protections granted by

Himself

Himſelf to Prieſts, that no body ſhould moleſt them; He harbour'd ſome Prieſts in his own Houſe, knowing them to be ſuch; which, by the Statute made in the Twenty ninth year of Queen *Elizabeth*, is made Felony: and there were ſome Warrants under his Own hand for the releaſe of Prieſts out of *Newgate*, who were actually attainted of Treaſon, and condemn'd to be hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; which by the ſtrict Letter of the Statute, the Lawyers ſaid, would have been very penal to him.

I REMEMBER one Story brought into the Houſe concerning him, that adminiſtred ſome mirth; A Meſſenger (I think his name was *Newton*) who principally attended the ſervice of apprehending Prieſts, came one day to him in his Garden, and told him, "that he had brought with him a "Prieſt, a ſtirring and active perſon, whom he had appre-"hended that morning; and deſir'd to know, to what Pri-"ſon he ſhould carry him. The Secretary ſharply ask'd him, "Whether he would never give over this Blood-thirſty hu-"mour? and in great anger calling him Knave, and taking the Warrant from him by which he had apprehended him, departed without giving any other direction. The Meſſenger appall'd, thought the Prieſt was ſome perſon in favour, and therefore took no more care of him, but ſuffer'd him to depart. The Prieſt, freed from this fright, went ſecurely to his Lodgings, and within two or three days was arreſted for Debt, and carried in execution to Priſon. Shortly after, Secretary *Windebank* ſent for the Meſſenger, and ask'd him, "What was become of the Prieſt he had at ſuch a time "brought before him? he told him, "that he conceiv'd his "Honour had been offended with the apprehenſion of him, "and therefore he had look'd no farther after him. The Se-cretary in much Paſſion told him, "the diſcharging a Prieſt "was no light matter, and that if he ſpeedily found him not, "he ſhould anſwer the default with his life; that the Prieſt "was a dangerous Fellow, and muſt not eſcape in that faſhi-"on. The Meſſenger, beſides his natural inclination to that exerciſe, terrified with thoſe threats, left no means untried for the diſcovery, and at laſt heard where the man was in execution in Priſon: thither he went and demanded the Prieſt (who was not there known to be ſuch) as his Priſoner formerly, and eſcap'd from him; and by virtue of his firſt Warrant took him again into his cuſtody, and immediately carried him to the Secretary; and within few days after, the Prieſt was diſcharg'd, and at liberty. The Jaylor, in whoſe cuſtody he had been put for debt, was arreſted by the Parties griev'd, and he again ſued the Meſſenger, who appeal'd for Juſtice to the Houſe of Commons againſt the Secretary.

THIS Caſe had been preſented to the Committee, and was ready to be reported, with all thoſe Warrants under his own hand before mention'd, at the time when Secretary *Windebank* was in the Houſe. Beſides that, he was charg'd by the Lords by Meſſage or at a Conference, for breach of Privilege at the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, and ſigning Warrants for the ſearching the Studies and Papers of ſome Members; for which, according to the Doctrine then receiv'd, he might have been put into the cuſtody of the Serjeant of the Houſe. But, as the laſt occaſion was not laid hold of, becauſe it would have inevitably involv'd his brother Secretary Sr *Harry Vane*, who was under the ſame charge, and againſt whom indeed That charge was aim'd: So, it ſeems, they were contented he ſhould make an eſcape from any Trial for the reſt; either, becauſe they thought his Place would be ſooner void by his Flight than by his Trial, which would have taken up ſome time, and requir'd ſome formality, they having deſign'd that Place to Mr *Hollis*; or, that they thought he would, upon any examination, draw in ſomewhat to the Prejudice of Sr *Henry Vane*, whom they were to protect: and ſo they were well content with his Eſcape.

HAVING made their firſt entrance upon buſineſs with this vigour, they proceeded every day with the ſame fervour; and he who expreſt moſt Warmth againſt the Court and the Government, was heard with the moſt Favour; every day producing many form'd elaborate Orations, againſt all the Acts of State which had been done for many years preceding. That they might haſten the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, which was their Firſt great deſign, they made a cloſe Committee of ſuch Members, as they knew to be moſt for their purpoſe, who ſhould, under an obligation of Secrecy, prepare the heads of a charge againſt him; which had been ſeldom or never heard of before in Parliament: and that they might be ſure to do their buſineſs effectually, they ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Peers, to deſire them "to nominate "a ſelect Committee likewiſe of a few, to examine upon "oath ſuch Witneſſes, as the Committee of the Houſe of "Commons for preparing the Charge againſt the Earl of *Straf-* "*ford* ſhould produce before them, and in their Preſence, and "upon ſuch Interrogatories as they ſhould offer; which, though it was without Precedent, or example, the Lords preſently conſented to, and nam'd ſuch men as knew well What they had to do. Then they caus'd Petitions to be every day preſented, by ſome who had been Griev'd by any ſevere Sentences in the Star-Chamber, or Committed by the Lords of the Council, againſt Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and their Deputy Lieutenants, for having levyed Money upon the Country;

Country, for conducting and clothing of Soldiers, and other actions of a Martial nature (which had been done by thoſe Officers ſo qualify'd, from the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and was practiſed throughout her Reign) and againſt Sheriffs, for having levyed Ship-money. Upon all which Petitions (the matter being preſs'd and aggravated ſtill upon every particular by ſome Member of note and authority, upon which) all the Acts how formal and judicial ſoever, without ſo much as hearing the Sentences or Judgements read, were voted "to "be Illegal, and againſt the Liberty and Property of the Sub-"ject; and that all who were guilty of ſuch Proceedings, "ſhould be Proſecuted for their preſumption, and ſhould like-"wiſe pay Damages to the perſons injur'd.

By which general Votes (all paſs'd within a ſhort time after the ſitting of the Parliament) they had made themſelves ſo terrible, that all Privy-Counſellors, as well for what they had done at the Board, as in the Star-Chamber (where indeed many notable Sentences had paſs'd, with ſome exceſs in the Puniſhment) all Lords Lieutenants, who for the moſt part were likewiſe Counſellors, whereof all were of the Houſe of Peers; and then all who were Deputy-Lieutenants, or had been Sheriffs ſince the firſt iſſuing out of Writs for the collection of Ship-money, whereof very many were then of the Houſe of Commons; found themſelves involv'd under ſome of thoſe Votes, and liable to be proceeded againſt upon the firſt Provocation; whereby they were kept in ſuch awe, both in the one Houſe, and the other, as if they were upon their good behaviour, that they durſt not appear to diſlike, much leſs to oppoſe, whatſoever was propos'd.

All perſons impriſon'd for Sedition by the Star-Chamber upon the moſt ſolemn examination and the moſt grave deliberation, were ſet at liberty, that they might proſecute their appeals in Parliament. In the mean time, though there were two Armies in the Bowels of the Kingdom, at ſo vaſt an expence, care was taken only to provide money to Pay them, without the leaſt mention that the one ſhould return into *Scotland*, and the other be disbanded, that ſo that vaſt expence might be determin'd: but on the contrary, frequent inſinuations were given, "that many great things were firſt "to be done before the Armies could be disbanded; only they deſir'd the King, "that all Papiſts might be forthwith "caſhier'd out of his Army, which his Majeſty could not "deny; and ſo ſome Officers of good account were immediately diſmiſs'd.

The Temper of both Houſes at that time, and the Character of the then leading men in both.

It will not be impertinent nor unnatural to this preſent Diſcourſe, to ſet down in this place the preſent temper and conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament, that it may be the leſs

leſs wonder'd at, that ſo prodigious an alteration ſhould be made in ſo ſhort a time, and the Crown fallen ſo low, that it could neither ſupport it Self and its Own Majeſty, nor Them who would appear faithful to it.

In the Houſe of Peers the Earl of Bedford.

OF the Houſe of Peers, the great contrivers and deſigners were, firſt the Earl of *Bedford*, a wiſe man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wiſh a ſubverſion of the Government; and it quickly appear'd, that he only intended to make Himſelf and his Friends great at Court, not at all to leſſen the Court it ſelf.

The Lord Say.

THE Lord Viſcount *Say*, a man of a cloſe and reſerv'd nature, of a mean and a narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the higheſt Ambition; but whoſe Ambition would not be ſatisfied with Offices and Preferments, without ſome condeſcenſions and alterations in Eccleſiaſtical matters. He had for many years been the Oracle of thoſe who were call'd Puritans in the worſt ſenſe, and ſteer'd all Their counſels and deſigns. He was a notorious Enemy to the Church, and to moſt of the eminent Church-men, with ſome of whom he had particular conteſts. He had always oppos'd and contradicted all acts of State, and all Taxes and Impoſitions, which were not exactly Legal, and ſo had as eminently and as obſtinately refus'd the payment of Ship-money as Mr *Hambden* had done; though the latter, by the choice of the King's Council, had brought his Cauſe to be firſt heard and argued, with which Judgment, it was intended the whole right of That matter ſhould be concluded, and all other Cauſes overruled. The Lord *Say* would not acquieſce, but preſs'd to have his Own caſe argued, and was ſo ſollicitous in Perſon with all the Judges, both privately at their Chambers, and publickly in the Court at *Weſtminſter*, that he was very grievous to them. His Commitment at *York*, the year before, becauſe he refus'd to take an Oath, or rather ſubſcribe a Proteſtation, againſt holding Intelligence with the *Scots*, when the King firſt march'd againſt them, had given him much credit. In a word, he had very great authority with all the Diſcontented party throughout the Kingdom, and a good reputation with many who were not diſcontented, who believ'd him to be a wiſe man and of a very uſeful temper, in an age of Licence, and one who would ſtill adhere to the Law.

The Lord Mandevile.

THE Lord *Mandevile*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Privy-Seal, was a Perſon of great civility, and very well bred, and had been early in the Court under the favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*, a Lady of whoſe Family he had married; he had attended upon the Prince when he was in *Spain*, and had been call'd to the Houſe of Peers in the life time of his Father, by the name of the Lord *Kimbolton*, which was a very extra-

ordinary

ordinary favour. Upon the death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Wife being likewiſe dead, he married the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*; a man in no grace at Court, and look'd upon as the greateſt Patron of the Puritans, becauſe of much the greateſt Eſtate of all who favour'd them, and ſo was eſteem'd by them with great application and veneration: though he was of a life very licentious, and uncomformable to Their profeſs'd Rigour, which they rather diſpenſed with, than they would withdraw from a Houſe where they receiv'd ſo eminent a Protection, and ſuch notable Bounty. Upon this latter Marriage the Lord *Mandevile* totally eſtranged himſelf from the Court, and upon all occaſions appear'd enough to diſlike what was done there, and engag'd himſelf wholely in the converſation of thoſe who were moſt notoriouſly of that Party, whereof there was a kind of Fraternity of many perſons of good condition, who choſe to live together in one Family, at a Gentleman's Houſe of a fair fortune, near the place where the Lord *Mandevile* liv'd, whither others of that *Claſſis* likewiſe reſorted, and maintain'd a joint and mutual correſpondence and converſation together with much familiarity and friendſhip: That Lord, to ſupport, and the better to improve that Popularity, living at a much higher rate than the narrow exhibition allow'd to him by his wary Father could juſtify, making up the reſt by contracting a great debt, which long lay heavy upon him; by which generous way of living, and by his natural civility, good manners, and good nature, which flow'd towards all men, he was univerſally acceptable and belov'd; and no man more in the confidence of the Diſcontented and Factious party than He, and none to whom the whole maſs of Their deſigns, as well what remain'd in Chaos as what was Form'd, was more entirely communicated, and no man more conſulted with. And therefore theſe three Lords are nominated as the Principal Agents in the Houſe of Peers (though there were many there of Quality and Intereſt much ſuperiour to any of Them) becauſe They were principally and abſolutely truſted by thoſe who were to manage all in the Houſe of Commons, and to raiſe that Spirit which was upon all occaſions to inflame the Lords. Yet it being enough known and underſtood, that how indiſpos'd and angry ſoever many of them at Preſent appear'd to be, there would be ſtill a major part There, who would, if they were not over-reach'd, adhere to the King and the eſtabliſh'd Government; and therefore, theſe three perſons were truſted without reſerve, and relied upon ſo to ſteer, as might increaſe their Party by all the arts imaginable; and they had dexterity enough to appear to depend upon thoſe three Lords, who were look'd upon as Greater, and as Popular

pular men; and to be ſubſervient to Their purpoſes, Whom in truth they govern'd and diſpos'd of.

The Earl of Eſſex,

AND by theſe Artifices, and application to his Vanity, and magnifying the General reputation and credit he had with the People, and ſharpning the ſenſe he had of his late ill treatment at Court, they fully prevail'd upon, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of, the Earl of *Eſſex*; who, though he was no good Speaker in Publick, yet, by having ſate long in Parliament, was ſo well acquainted with the order of it in very active times, that he was a better ſpeaker There than any where elſe, and being alway's heard with attention and reſpect, had much Authority in the debates. Nor did he need any incitement (which made all approaches to him the more eaſy) to do any thing againſt the Perſons of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, towards whom he profeſs'd a full diſlike; who were the only Perſons againſt whom there was any declar'd deſign, and againſt whom the *Scots* had in their Manifeſto demanded Juſtice, as the cauſe of the War between the Nations. And in this Proſecution there was too great a concurrence: *Warwick, Brook, Wharton, Paget, Howard*, and ſome others, implicitely follow'd and obſerv'd the dictates of the Lords mention'd before, and ſtarted or ſeconded what they were directed.

In the Houſe of Commons.

IN the Houſe of Commons were many perſons of Wiſdom and Gravity, who being poſſeſs'd of great and plentiful Fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the Court, had all imaginable duty for the King, and affection to the Government eſtabliſh'd by Law or ancient Cuſtom; and without doubt, the major part of that Body conſiſted of men who had no mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any conſiderable alteration in the Government of Church or State; and therefore all Inventions were ſet on foot from the beginning to work on them, and corrupt them, by ſuggeſtions "of the Dangers which threatned All that was "precious to the Subject in their Liberty and their Property, "by overthrowing, or over-maſtering the Law, and ſubject-"ing it to an Arbitrary power, and by countenancing Popery "to the ſubverſion of the Proteſtant Religion; and then, by infuſing terrible Apprehenſions into ſome, and ſo working upon their Fears "of being call'd in Queſtion for ſomewhat "they had done, by which they would ſtand in need of Their "protection; and raiſing the Hopes of others, "that by con-"curring with Them, they ſhould be ſure to obtain Offices, "and Honours, and any kind of Preferment. Though there were too many corrupted and miſled by theſe ſeveral Temptations, and others who needed no other temptations than from the fierceneſs of their Own natures, and the malice they had

had contracted againſt the Church and againſt the Court; Yet the number was not great of thoſe in whom the Government of the reſt was veſted, nor were there many who had the abſolute Authority to Lead, though there was a multitude diſpos'd to Follow.

Mr PYM was look'd upon as the man of greateſt Experience in Parliament, where he had ſerv'd very long, and was always a man of buſineſs, being an Officer in the Exchequer, and of a good reputation generally, though known to be inclin'd to the Puritan faction; yet not of thoſe furious reſolutions againſt the Church as the other Leading men were, and wholely devoted to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had nothing of that Spirit. Mr Pym.

Mr HAMBDEN was a man of much greater Cunning, and, it may be, of the moſt diſcerning Spirit, and of the greateſt Addreſs and Inſinuation to bring any thing to paſs which he deſir'd, of any man of that time, and who laid the deſign deepeſt. He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune, who, from a life of great pleaſure and licence, had on a ſuddain retir'd to extraordinary ſobriety and ſtrictneſs, and yet retain'd his uſual chearfulneſs and affability: which, together with the opinion of his wiſdom and juſtice, and the courage he had ſhew'd in oppoſing the Ship-money, rais'd his Reputation to a very great height, not only in *Buckingham-ſhire*, where he liv'd, but generally throughout the Kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the diſcourſe, or made the firſt entrance upon any buſineſs that was aſſum'd; but a very Weighty ſpeaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and obſerv'd how the Houſe was like to be inclin'd, took up the Argument, and ſhortly, and clearly, and craftily, ſo ſtated it, that he commonly conducted it to the concluſion he deſir'd; and if he found he could not do that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the Negative, which might prove Inconvenient in the future. He made ſo great a ſhew of Civility, and Modeſty, and Humility, and always of Miſtruſting his Own judgement, and eſteeming His with whom he conferr'd for the preſent, that he ſeem'd to have no opinions or reſolutions, but ſuch as he contracted from the Information and inſtruction he receiv'd upon the diſcourſes of others; whom he had a wonderful Art of governing, and leading into His principles and inclinations, whilſt They believ'd that he wholely depended upon their counſel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himſelf, or was leſs the man that he ſeem'd to be; which ſhortly after appear'd to every body, when he car'd leſs to keep on the Maſque. Mr Hambden,

Mr SAINT-

Mr Saint-John,

Mr SAINT-JOHN, who was in a firm and entire conjunction with the other two, was a Lawyer of *Lincolns*-Inn, known to be of parts and induſtry, but not taken notice of for practice in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, till he argu'd at the Exchequer-Chamber the caſe of Ship-money on the behalf of Mr *Hambden*; which gave him much reputation, and call'd him into all Courts, and to all Cauſes, where the King's Prerogative was moſt conteſted. He was a man reſerv'd, and of a dark and clouded Countenance, very proud. and converſing with very few, and thoſe, men of his own Humour and Inclinations. He had been queſtion'd, committed, and brought into the Star-Chamber, many years before, with other Perſons of great Name and Reputation (which firſt brought His name upon the Stage) for communicating ſome Paper among themſelves, which ſome men at that time had a mind to have extended to a deſign of Sedition; but it being quickly evident that the Proſecution would not be attended with ſucceſs, they were all ſhortly after diſcharg'd; but he never forgave the Court the firſt aſſault, and contracted an implacable diſpleaſure againſt the Church purely from the Company he kept. He was of an intimate truſt with the Earl of *Bedford*, to whom he was in ſome ſort allied (being a natural Son of the Houſe of *Bullingbrook*) and by him brought into all matters where himſelf was to be concern'd. It was generally believ'd, that theſe three Perſons, with the other three Lords mention'd before, were of the moſt intimate and entire truſt with each other, and made the Engine which mov'd all the reſt: yet it was viſible, that *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the ſecond Son of the Lord *Say*, and Sr *Harry Vane*, eldeſt Son to the Secretary, and Treaſurer of the Houſe, were receiv'd by Them with full confidence and without reſerve.

Mr Nathaniel Fiennes,

THE former, being a man of good Parts of Learning, and after ſome years ſpent in *New-College* in *Oxford*, of which his Father had been formerly Fellow (that Family claiming and enjoying many Privileges there, as of kin to the Founder) had ſpent his time abroad, in *Geneva*, and amongſt the Cantons of *Switzerland*, where he improv'd his Diſinclination to the Church, with which Milk he had been nurſed. From his Travels he return'd through *Scotland* (which few Travellers took in their way Home) at the time when that Rebellion was in the Bud; and was very little known, except amongſt that People, which Converſed wholely amongſt themſelves, until he was now found in Parliament, when it was quickly diſcover'd, that as he was the darling of his Father, ſo he was like to make good whatſoever He had for many years promis'd.

Sr Harry Vane *junior*,

THE other, Sr *Harry Vane*, was a man of great natural parts,

parts, and of very profound diſſimulation, of a quick conception, and very ready, ſharp, and weighty expreſſion. He had an unuſual aſpect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his Father and Mother, neither of which were beautiful Perſons, yet made men think there was ſomething in him of Extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination. Within a very ſhort time after he return'd from his Studies in *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, where, though he was under the care of a very worthy Tutor, he liv'd not with great exactneſs, he ſpent ſome little time in *France*, and more in *Geneva*; and after his return into *England*, contracted a full prejudice and bitterneſs againſt the Church, both againſt the Form of the Government, and the Liturgy, which was generally in great reverence, even with many of thoſe who were not friends to the other. In this Giddyneſs, which then much diſpleas'd, or ſeem'd to diſpleaſe, his Father, who ſtill appear'd highly conformable, and exceeding ſharp againſt thoſe who were not, he tranſported himſelf into *New-England*, a Colony within few years before planted by a mixture of all Religions, which diſpos'd the Profeſſors to diſlike the Government of the Church; who were qualified by the King's Charter to chooſe their own Government and Governours, under the obligation, "that every man ſhould take the Oaths of Alle-"giance and Supremacy; which all the firſt Planters did, when they receiv'd their Charter, before they tranſported themſelves from hence; nor was there, in many years, the leaſt Scruple amongſt them of complying with thoſe obligations; ſo far men were, in the Infancy of their Schiſm, from refuſing to take Lawful Oaths. He was no ſooner landed there, but his Parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his Quality, being the eldeſt Son of a Privy-Counſellor, might give him ſome advantage; inſomuch, that when the next ſeaſon came for the Election of their Magiſtrates, He was choſen their Governour; in which Place he had ſo ill Fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raiſing and infuſing a thouſand Scruples of Conſcience, which They had not brought over with them, nor heard of before) that He unſatisfied with Them, and They with Him, he tranſported himſelf into *England*; having ſow'd ſuch ſeed of Diſſenſion there, as grew up too proſperouſly, and miſerably divided the poor Colony into ſeveral Factions, and Diviſions, and Perſecutions of each other, which ſtill continue to the great Prejudice of that Plantation: inſomuch as ſome of them upon the ground of the firſt Expedition, Liberty of Conſcience, have withdrawn themſelves from Their juriſdiction, and obtain'd other Charters from the King, by which,

in other forms of Government, they have enlarged their Plantation, within new limits adjacent to the other. He was no sooner return'd into *England*, than he seem'd to be much reform'd from his extravagancies, and with his Father's approbation and direction, married a Lady of a good Family, and by his Father's credit with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was High Admiral of *England*, was join'd presently and jointly with Sr *William Russel* in the Office of Treasurer of the Navy (a Place of great trust and profit) which he equally shar'd with the other, and seem'd a man well satisfied and compos'd to the Government. When his Father receiv'd the Disobligation from the Lord *Strafford*, by his being created Baron of *Raby*, the House and Land of *Vane* (which Title he had promis'd Himself, but it was unluckily cast upon the Earl, purely out of contempt of *Vane*) they suck'd in all the thoughts of Revenge imaginable; and from thence the Son betook himself to the Friendship of Mr *Pym*, and all other Discontented or Seditious persons, and contributed all that Intelligence (which will hereafter be mention'd, as he himself will often be) that design'd the Ruin of the Earl, and which grafted him in the entire confidence of Those who promoted the same; so that nothing was conceal'd from Him, though it's believ'd that he communicated his Own thoughts to very few.

Mr Denzill Hollis.

DENZILL *Hollis*, the younger Son and younger Brother of the Earls of *Clare*, was as much valued and esteem'd by the whole Party, as any man; as he deserv'd to be, being of more accomplish'd Parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the Court and the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Parliament of the Fourth year of the King (the last Parliament that had been before the Short one in *April*) and his long Imprisonment, and sharp Prosecution afterwards, upon that account; of which he retain'd the memory with acrimony enough. But he would in no degree intermeddle in the Counsel or Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford* (which he could not prevent) who had Married his Sister, by whom he had all his Children, which made him a Stranger to all Those consultations, though it did not otherwise interrupt the Friendship he had with the most violent of those Prosecutors. In all other contrivances he was in the most Secret Counsels with Those who most govern'd, and was respected by them with very submiss applications as a man of Authority. Sr *Gilbert Gerard*, the Lord *Digby*, *Strode*, *Haslerigg*; and the Northern Gentlemen, who were most angry with the Earl, or apprehensive of Their own being in the mercy of the House, as *Hotham*, *Cholmely*, and *Stapleton*; with some Popular Lawyers of the House, who did

did not ſuſpect any Wickedneſs in deſign, and ſo became involv'd by degrees in the worſt, obſerv'd and purſu'd the dictates and directions of the other, according to the parts which were aſſign'd to them upon emergent occaſions: whilſt the whole Houſe look'd on with wonder and amazement, without any man's interpoſing to allay the Paſſion and the Fury with which ſo many were tranſported.

THIS was the preſent Temper and Conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament upon their firſt coming together, when (as *Tacitus* ſays of the Jews, "that they exercis'd the higheſt "Offices of Kindneſs and Friendſhip towards each other, *& ad-* "*verſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*) they watch'd all thoſe who they knew were not of Their opinions, nor like to be, with all poſſible Jealouſy; and if any of their Elections could be brought into Queſtion, they were ſure to be Voted out of the Houſe, and then all the artifices were us'd to bring in more Sanctified Members; ſo that every week encreas'd the number of their Party, both by new Elections, and the Proſelytes they gain'd upon the old. Nor was it to be wonder'd at, for they pretended all Publick thoughts, and only the reformation of diſapprov'd and odious Enormities, and diſſembled all purpoſes of removing Foundations, which, though it was in the hearts of ſome, they had not the courage and confidence to communicate it.

THE *Engliſh* and the *Scotiſh* Armies remain'd quiet in their ſeveral Quarters in the North, without any Acts of Hoſtility, under the obligation of the Ceſſation, which was ſtill Prorogued from Month to Month, that the People might believe that a full Peace would be quickly concluded. And the Treaty, which during the King's being at *York* had been held at *Rippon*, being now adjourn'd to *London*, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners (whereof the Earl of *Rothes*, and the Lord *Lowden*, who had been mention'd before, were the chief) came thither in great State, and were receiv'd by the King with that countenance which he could not chooſe but ſhew to them; and were then lodged in the heart of the City, near *London*-Stone, in a houſe which uſed to be inhabited by the Lord Mayor or one of the Sheriffs, and was Situate ſo near to the Church of S^t *Antholins* (a place in late times made famous by ſome Seditious Lecturer) that there was a way out of it into a Gallery of the Church. This benefit was well foreſeen on all ſides in the accommodation, and this Church aſſign'd to Them for their own Devotions, where one of their own Chaplains ſtill Preach'd, amongſt which *Alexander Henderſon* was the chief, who was likewiſe joyn'd with them in the Treaty in all matters which had reference to Religion: and to hear thoſe Sermons there was ſo great a conflux and reſort,

The Scotiſh Commiſſioners come to London, *and lodge in the City.*

ſort, by the Citizens out of Humour and Faction; by others of all Qualities out of Curioſity; and by ſome that they might the better juſtify the Contempt they had of them, that from the firſt appearance of day in the Morning on every Sunday, to the ſhutting in of the light, the Church was never empty. They (eſpecially the Women) who had the happineſs to get into the Church in the Morning (they who could not, hung upon or about the Windows without to be Auditors or Spectators) keeping their places till the Afternoons Exerciſe was finiſh'd; which both Morning and Afternoon, except to Palates and Appetites ridiculouſly corrupted, was the moſt Inſipid and Flat that could be deliver'd upon any deliberation.

THE Earl of *Rothes* had been the chief Architect of that whole Machine from the beginning, and was a man very well bred, and of very good Parts, and great addreſs; in his Perſon very acceptable, pleaſant in Converſation, very free and amorous, and unreſtrain'd in his diſcourſe by any ſcruples of Religion, which he only put on when the part he was to act requir'd it, and then no man could appear more Conſcientiouſly tranſported. There will be ſometimes occaſion to mention him hereafter, as already as much hath been ſaid of the other, the Lord *Lowden*, as is yet neceſſary.

A Committee of both Houſes appointed to treat with the Scotiſh *Commiſſioners.*

THEY were no ſooner come to the Town, but a new Committee of the Members of both Houſes, ſuch as were very acceptable to them, was appointed to renew and continue the Treaty with them that had been begun at *Rippon*: and then they Publiſh'd and Printed their Declaration againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in which they ſaid, "That as they did reſerve thoſe of their "Own Country who had been Incendiaries between the two "Kingdoms, to be proceeded againſt in their Own Parlia-"ment, ſo they deſir'd no other Juſtice to be done againſt "theſe Two criminal Perſons but what ſhould ſeem good to "the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

IT was eaſily diſcern'd (by thoſe who ſaw at any diſtance, and who had been long jealous of that trick) from that expreſſion concerning *Their Own Country men*, that they meant no harm to the Marquis of *Hamilton*, againſt Whom, in the beginning of the Rebellion, all their Bitterneſs ſeem'd to be directed, and Who was thought to have the leaſt portion of kindneſs or good will from the three Nations, of any man who related to the King's Service. But he had, by the Friendſhip he had ſhew'd to the Lord *Lowden*, and procuring his Liberty, when he was in the Tower for ſo notorious a Treaſon, and was to be in the head of another aſſoon as he ſhould be at Liberty; and by his application and dexterity at

York

York in the meeting of the great Council, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners employ'd thither before the Treaty; and by his promiſe of future Offices and Services, which he made good abundantly; procur'd as well from the *Engliſh* as the *Scots*, all aſſurance of Indemnity: which they ſo diligently made good, that they were not more ſollicitous to contrive and find out Evidence or Information againſt the other Two great Men, than they were to prevent all Information or Complaint, and to ſtifle all Evidence, which was offer'd, or could be produc'd againſt the Marquis.

AND they were exceedingly vigilant to prevent the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners entring into any Familiarity, or Converſation with any who were not faſt to Their Party: Inſomuch as one day the Earl of *Rothes* walking in *Weſtminſter*-Hall with Mr *Hyde*, towards whom he had a kindneſs by reaſon of their mutual Friendſhip with ſome Perſons of Honour, and they Two walking towards the Gate to take Coach to make a Viſit together, the Earl on a ſuddain deſir'd the other "to "walk towards the Coach, and he would overtake him by "the time he came thither; but ſtaying very long, He imagin'd he might be diverted from his purpoſe, and ſo walk'd back into the Hall, where preſently meeting him, they Both purſu'd their former intention; and being in the Coach, the Earl told him, "that he muſt excuſe his having made him "ſtay ſo long, becauſe he had been detain'd only concerning "Him; that when he was walking with him, a Gentleman "paſſing by touch'd his Cloak, which made him deſire the "other to go before; and turning to the other Perſon, "He ſaid, That ſeeing him walk in ſome familiarity with "Mr *Hyde*, he thought himſelf oblig'd to tell him, that he "walked with the greateſt Enemy the *Scotiſh* Nation had in "the Parliament, and that he ought to take heed how he "communicated any thing of Importance to him; and that "after he was parted with that Gentleman, before he could "paſs through the Hall, four or five other Eminent Men, ſeve-"rally, gave him the ſame advertiſement and caution; and then ſpoke as unconcernedly and as merrily of the Perſons and Their Jealouſy as the Other could do. Men who were ſo Sagacious in purſuing their Point, were not like to miſcarry.

THE firſt Compliment They put upon the *Scotiſh*-Commiſſioners was, that They were careſs'd by Both Houſes with all poſſible expreſſions of Kindneſs at leaſt, if not of Submiſſion; and an Order was carefully entred, "that upon all oc-"caſions the Appellation ſhould be us'd of [*Our Brethren of* "Scotland] and upon That, wonderful kind Compliments paſs'd, of a ſincere reſolution of Amity and Union between the Two Nations.

THINGS

THINGS being thus constituted, it became them to satisfy the publick expectation in the Discovery of their new Treasons, and in speedy Proceedings against those Two great Persons. For the better preparing whereof, and facilitating whatever else should be necessary for that enterprize, the *Scotish* Commissioners in the Name of that Nation, presented (as is said before) two distinct Declarations, against the Persons of the Arch-Bishop and the Earl of *Strafford*, stuffed with as much Bitterness and Virulency as can be imagin'd, making Them "the odious incendiaries of the Differences between "the Two Nations, and the Original Causes of all those Ca-"lamities in that Kingdom which begot those Differences, and "most pathetically pressing for Justice against them Both. These Discourses (for each of them consisted of many Sheets of Paper) were publickly read in both Houses; That against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was for the present laid aside, and I am perswaded, at that time, without any thought of resuming it, hoping that his Age and Imprisonment would have quickly freed them from farther trouble, But a speedy Proceeding against the Other was vehemently press'd, as of no less importance than the Peace between the Two Kingdoms, not without some intimation, "that there could be "no expectation that the *Scotish* Army would ever retire into "their Country, and consequently that the King's Army "could be Disbanded, before exemplary Justice was done "upon that Earl to Their satisfaction. When they had inflam'd men with this consideration sufficiently; They, without any great difficulty (in order to the necessary expedition for that Tryal) prevail'd in two Propositions of most fatal consequence to the King's service, and to the Safety and Integrity of all Honest men.

Proceedings towards the Earl of Strafford's *Trial.*

THE First, "for a Committee to be settled of both Houses "for the taking Preparatory Examinations. Thus the Allegation was, "That the Charge against the Earl of *Strafford* "was of an extraordinary nature, being to make a Treason "evident out of a complication of several ill Acts; That he "must be traced through many dark paths, and This Prece-"dent seditious Discourse compar'd with That Subsequent "outragious Action, the Circumstances of both which, might "be equally considerable with the Matter it self; and there-"fore that before this Charge could be so directly made "and prepar'd as was necessary (for he was hitherto only ac-cus'd generally of Treason) "it was requisite, that a Com-"mittee should be made of both Houses to examine some "Witnesses upon Oath, upon whose Depositions, his Impeach-"ment would easily be framed. This was no sooner pro-pos'd in the House of Commons, than consented to; and upon

as

as little debate yielded to by the Lords; and the Committee ſettled accordingly: without conſidering that ſuch an inquiſition (beſides that the ſame was contrary to the Practice of former times) would eaſily prepare a Charge againſt the moſt Innocent man alive; where that liberty ſhould be taken to examine a man's whole life; and all the light, and all the private diſcourſes had paſt from him, might be tortured, perverted, and applied, according to the conſcience and the craft of a Diligent and Malicious Proſecution.

THE Second was, "for the Examining upon Oath Privy-"Counſellors, upon ſuch matters as had paſs'd at the Coun-"cil-Table. The Allegation for this was, "That the prin-"cipal Ingredient into the Treaſon with which the Earl was "to be charg'd, was, a purpoſe to Change the Form of Go-"vernment; and, inſtead of That ſettled by Law, to intro-"duce a Power meerly Arbitrary. Now this deſign muſt be "made Evident, as well by the Advices which he gave, and "the Expreſſions he utter'd upon Emergent Occaſions, as by "his Publick Actions; and Thoſe could not be diſcover'd, "at leaſt not prov'd, but by Thoſe who were Preſent at ſuch "conſultations, and They were only Privy-Counſellors. As it was alledg'd, "That at his coming from *Ireland* the Earl "had ſaid in Council there; That if ever he return'd to that "Sword again, he would not leave a *Scotiſh*-man in that King-"dom: and at his arrival in this Kingdom, the Lord Mayor "and ſome Aldermen of *London* attending the Board, about "the Loan of Moneys, and not giving that Satisfaction was "expected, that He ſhould pull a Letter out of his pocket, "and ſhew what courſe the King of *France* then took for the "raiſing of Money; and that He ſhould tell the King, That "it would never be well till he hang'd up a Lord Mayor of "*London* in the City to terrify the reſt.

THERE was no greater difficulty to ſatisfy the Houſe of Commons with the Reaſonableneſs of this, than of the former; but the Compaſſing it, was not like to be eaſy; for it was viſible, that though the Lords ſhould join with them (which was not to be deſpair'd) the Privy-Counſellors would inſiſt upon the Oath they had taken, and pretend "that with-"out the King's conſent they might not diſcover any thing "that had paſs'd at that Board; ſo that the greateſt difficulty "would be, The procuring the King's conſent for the be-"traying Himſelf: but This muſt be inſiſted on, for God for-"bid that it might be ſafe for any deſperate wicked Coun-"ſellor to propoſe and adviſe at that Board (which in the intervals of Parliaments wholely diſpos'd the affairs of State) "courſes deſtructive to the health and being of the Kingdom; "and that the Soveraign Phyſician, the Parliament (which

"had the only skill to cure thoſe contagious and epidemical "diſeaſes) ſhould be hindred from preſerving the Publick, be- "cauſe no Evidence muſt be given of ſuch corrupt and wick- "ed Counſels. And ſo provided with this ſpecious Orato- ry, they deſire the Lords "to concur with Them for this ne- "ceſſary Examination of Privy-Counſellors; Who, without much debate (for the Perſons concern'd knew well their Acts were viſible and publick enough, and therefore conſider'd not much what Words had paſs'd) conſented; and appointed ſome to attend the King for His conſent: Who, not well weigh- ing the Conſequence; and being in Publick Council unani- mouſly advis'd "to conſent to it; and that the not doing it "would lay ſome taint upon his Council, and be a tacit con- "feſſion, that there had been agitations at that place which "would not endure the light; Yielded that they ſhould be examin'd: which was ſpeedily done accordingly, by the Com- mittee of both Houſes appointed for that purpoſe.

THE Damage was not to be expreſs'd, and the Ruin that laſt act brought to the King was irreparable; for, beſides that it ſerv'd Their turn (which no queſtion they had diſ- cover'd before) to prove thoſe words againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, which Sr *Harry Vane* ſo punctually remember'd (as you ſhall find at the Earl's Trial) and beſides, that it was matter of horror to the Counſellors, to find that They might be arraign'd for every raſh, every inconſiderate, every impe- rious expreſſion or word they had us'd There; and ſo made them more engag'd to ſervile applications: it baniſh'd for ever all future freedom from that Board, and thoſe Perſons, from whom his Majeſty was to expect advice in his greateſt ſtreights; all men ſatisfying themſelves, "that they were no "more oblig'd to deliver their opinions There freely, when "they might be Impeach'd in another place for ſo doing; and the evincing this ſo uſeful Doctrine, was without doubt more the deſign of thoſe grand Managers, than any hope they had, of receiving further Information thereby, than they had before.

AND for my part I muſt ask leave of thoſe Noble Lords, Who after the King's conſent gave themſelves liberty to be Examin'd, to ſay; that if they had well conſider'd the Oath they had taken when they were admitted to that Society, which was [*To keep Secret all matters committed and reveal'd to them, or that ſhould be treated of ſecretly in Council*] they would not have believ'd, that the King Himſelf could have diſpenſed with that Part of their Oath. It is true, there is another clauſe in their Oath, that allows them with the King's conſent to reveal a matter of Council: but that is, Only what ſhall touch another Counſellor; which they are not to do without the leave of the King, or the Council.

IT

IT was now time to mind Themſelves, as well as the Publick, and to Repair, as well as Pull Down; and therefore, as the principal reaſon (as was ſaid before) for the accuſing thoſe Two great Perſons of High Treaſon (that is, of the general Conſent to it before any Evidence was requir'd) was, that they might be remov'd from the King's Preſence and his Counſels, without which they conceiv'd Theirs would have no power with him; ſo That being compaſs'd, care was taken to infuſe into the King by Marquis *Hamilton* (Who you heard before was licenſed to take care of Himſelf; and was now of great intimacy with the Governing and Undertaking Party) "that his Majeſty having declared "to his People, that He really intended a Reformation of all "thoſe Extravagancies which former neceſſities, or occaſions, "or miſtakes, had brought into the Government of Church "or State: He could not give a more lively and demonſtra- "ble Evidence, and a more gracious Inſtance of ſuch his in- "tention, than by calling ſuch Perſons to his Council, Whom "the People generally thought moſt inclin'd to, and intent "upon, ſuch Reformation: Beſides, that this would be a good "means to preſerve the dignity and juſt power of that Board, "which might otherwiſe, on the account of the late exceſs "and violation, be more ſubject to inconvenient attempts for "the Future.

HEREUPON in one day were ſworn Privy Counſellors, much to the publick joy, the Earl of *Hertford* (whom the King afterwards made Marquis) the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Savile*, and the Lord *Kimbolton*; and within two or three days after, the Earl of *Warwick*: being All perſons at that time very gracious to the People, or to the *Scots*, by whoſe election and diſcretion the People choſe; and had been All in ſome umbrage at Court, and Moſt in viſible disfavour there. This act the King did very chearfully; heartily inclined to Some of them, as He had reaſon; and not apprehending any Inconvenience by that act from the Others, whom he thought this light of his grace would Reform, or at leaſt Reſtrain. *Divers new Privy Counſellors ſworn of the Popular Party.*

BUT the calling and admitting men to that Board is not a work that can be indifferent: the Reputation, if not the Government of the State depending on it. And though, it may be, there hath been too much Curioſity heretofore uſed to diſcover men's humours in particular points, before they have receiv'd that Honour; whereas poſſibly ſuch differences were rather to have been deſir'd than avoided: yet there are certain Opinions, certain Propoſitions, and general Principles, that Whoſoever does not hold, and does not believe, is not, without great danger, to be accepted for a Privy-Counſellor.

ſellor. As, Whoſoever is not fix'd to Monarchical grounds, the preſervation and upholding whereof is the chief End of ſuch a Council: Whoſoever doth not believe that in order to that great End, there is a Dignity, a Freedom, a Juriſdiction moſt eſſential to be preſerv'd in, and To that place; and takes not the Preſervation thereof to heart; ought never to be receiv'd there. What in prudence is to be done towards that End, admits a latitude that honeſt and wiſe men may ſafely and profitably differ in; and thoſe Differences (which I ſaid before there was too much unskilful care to prevent) uſually produce great advantages in knowledge and wiſdom: but the End it ſelf, that which the Logicians call the *Terminus ad quem*, ought always to be a *poſtulatum*, which Whoſoever doubts, deſtroys: and Princes cannot be too ſtrict, too tender, in this conſideration, in the conſtituting the body of their Privy-Council; upon the Prudent doing whereof, much of their Safety; more of their Honour and Reputation (which is the Life it ſelf of Princes) both at home and abroad neceſſarily depends: and the Inadvertencies in this Point, have been, mediately or immediately, the Root and the Spring of moſt of the Calamities that have enſued.

Two Reaſons have been frequently given by Princes for Overſights, or for Wilful Breaches, in this important diſpenſation of their Favours. The firſt, "that ſuch a man can do "no harm; when God knows, few men have done more harm than Thoſe who have been thought to be able to do leaſt; and there cannot be a greater error than to believe a man whom we ſee qualified with too mean parts to do good, to be therefore incapable of doing hurt: there is a ſupply of Malice, of Pride, of Induſtry, and even of Folly, in the Weakeſt, when He ſets his heart upon it, that makes a ſtrange progreſs in Miſchief. The Second, "when Perſons of ordi-"nary faculties, either upon importunity, or other collateral "reſpects, have been introduc'd There, that it is but a place "of Honour, and a general teſtimony of the King's affecti-"on; and ſo it hath been, as it were, reſerv'd as a preferment for Thoſe, who were fit for no other preferment. As amongſt the Jeſuits they have a Rule, That they, who are unapt for greater Studies, ſhall ſtudy caſes of Conſcience. By this means the Number hath been increas'd, which in it ſelf breeds great Inconveniencies; ſince a Leſs number are fitter both for Counſel and Diſpatch, in matters of the greateſt moment, that depend upon a quick execution, than a Greater number of men equally honeſt and wiſe: and for That, and other reaſons of Unaptneſs and Incompetency, Committees of dextrous men have been appointed out of the Table to do the buſineſs of it; and ſo men have been no ſooner exalted

with

with the Honourable title, and pleaſed with the obligation of being made Privy-Counſellors, than they have check'd that delight with diſcerning that they were not fully truſted; and ſo have been more incenſed with the Reproachful diſtinction At, than obliged with the Honourable admiſſion To that Board, where they do not find all perſons equally Members. And by this kind of Reſentment, many ſad Inconveniences have befallen the King, and Thoſe men Who have had the honour and misfortune of thoſe ſecret truſts.

THE truth is, the ſinking and near deſperate condition of Monarchy in this Kingdom can never be buoy'd up, but by a prudent and ſteady Council attending upon the virtue and vivacity of the King; nor be preſerv'd and improved when it is up, but by cheriſhing and preſerving the wiſdom, integrity, dignity, and reputation, of that Council: the luſtre whereof always reflects upon the King himſelf; who is not thought a Great Monarch when he follows only his own Reaſon and Appetite; but when, for the informing his Reaſon, and guiding his Actions, he uſes the ſervice, induſtry, and faculties, of the Wiſeſt men. And though it hath been, and will be, always neceſſary to admit to thoſe Counſels ſome men of great Power, who will not take the pains to improve their great parts; yet the Number of the whole ſhould not be too great; and the Capacities and Qualities of the moſt ſhould be fit for buſineſs; that is, either for Judgement, and Diſpatch; or for One of them at leaſt: and for Integrity above all.

THIS Digreſſion (much longer than was intended) will not appear very impertinent, when the great diſſervice ſhall appear, which befel the King by the ſwearing thoſe Lords formerly mention'd (I ſpeak but of ſome of them) Privy-Counſellors. For inſtead of exerciſing themſelves in their new Province, and endeavouring to preſerve and vindicate that Juriſdiction; they look'd upon themſelves as preferr'd thither, by their reputation in Parliament, not by the kindneſs and eſteem of the King; and ſo reſolv'd to keep up principally the greatneſs of that Place, to which they thought they ow'd their Own greatneſs. And therefore when the King requir'd the Advice of his Privy-Council, in thoſe matters of the higheſt importance which were then every day incumbent on Him, the new Privy-Counſellors poſitively declar'd, "that They "might not (that was, that no body might) give his Majeſty "any advice in matters depending in the two Houſes, "which was not agreeable to the ſenſe of the two Houſes; "which They call'd his Great Council, by Whoſe wiſdom "he was entirely to guide himſelf. As this doctrine was inſipidly and perniciouſly urg'd by ſome; ſo it was ſupinely and ſtupidly ſubmitted to by others: inſomuch as the King,

in a moment found himself bereav'd of all Publick assistance and advice, in a time when he needed it most; and his greatest, and, upon the matter, his only business, being prudently to weigh and consider What to Consent to, and What to Deny, of such things as should be Propos'd to him by the two Houses, He was now told, "that He was only to be Advis'd by Them; which was as much as to say, that He must do whatsoever They desir'd of him.

WHEREAS in truth, it is not only Lawful for the Privy-Council, but their Duty, to give faithfully and freely Their advice to the King upon all matters concluded in Parliament, to which his Royal assent is necessary, as well as upon any other subject whatsoever. Nay a Privy-Counsellor, as Such, is bound to dissuade the King from consenting to that which is Prejudicial to the Crown; at least to make that Prejudice manifest to him; though as a private person he could wish the matter consented to. And therefore, by the constitution of the Kingdom, and the constant practice of Former times, all Bills after they had pass'd both Houses, were deliver'd by the Clerk of the Parliament to the Clerk of the Crown; and by him brought to the Atturney General; who presented the same to the King sitting in Council; and having read them, declar'd what Alterations were made by those Bills to former Laws; and what Benefit or Detriment, in Profit or Jurisdiction, would accrew thereby to the Crown: and then upon a full and free debate by his Counsellors, the King resolv'd accordingly upon such Bills as were to be enacted into Laws; and respited the other that he thought not fit to consent to. As this hath been the known Practice, so the Reason is very visible; that the Royal Assent being a distinct and essential part towards the making a Law, there should be as much care taken to inform the Understanding and Conscience of the King upon those occasions, as Theirs, who prepare the same for his Royal assent.

Great licence in Preaching and Printing.

THAT it might appear that what was done Within the Houses, was agreeable to those who were Without; and that the same Spirit reign'd in Parliament, and People; all possible licence was exercis'd in Preaching, and Printing any old Scandalous Pamphlets, and adding New to them against the Church: Petitions presented by many Parishioners against their Pastors, with Articles of their Misdemeanours and Behaviours; most whereof consisted, "in their Bowing at the "name of *Jesus*, and obliging the Communicants to come up "to the Altar (as they enviously call'd it) that is, to the Rails which enclos'd the Communion-Table, "to receive the Sa-"crament. All which Petitions were Read with great delight, and presently referr'd to the Committee about Religion; where

where Mr *White*, a grave Lawyer, but notoriously disaffected to the Church, sat in the Chair; and then both Petition and Articles were suffer'd to be Printed and Publish'd (a licence never practised before) that the People might be inflam'd against the Clergy; who were quickly taught, to call all Those against whom such Petitions and Articles were exhibited (which were frequently done by a few of the Rabble, and meanest of the People, against the sense and judgement of the Parish) *the Scandalous Clergy*; which Appellation was frequently applied to men of great Gravity and Learning, and the most Unblemish'd lives.

THERE cannot be a better Instance of the Unruly and Mutinous Spirit of the City of *London*, which was then the Sink of all the ill humours of the Kingdom, than the Triumphant Entry which some Persons at that time made into *London*, who had been before seen upon Pillories, and Stigmatiz'd as Libellous and Infamous Offenders: of which *classis* of men scarce any age can afford the like.

The Entry of Pryn, Bastwick, *and* Burton, *into* London.

THERE had been Three persons of several Professions some years before Censur'd in the Star-Chamber, *William Pryn* a Barrister of *Lincoln*'s Inn, *John Bastwick* a Doctor of Physick, and *Henry Burton* a Minister and Lecturer of *London*.

THE First, not unlearn'd in the Profession of the Law, as far as Learning is acquir'd by the meer reading of Books; but being a person of great Industry, had spent more time in reading Divinity; and which marr'd that Divinity, in the conversation of Factious and Hot-headed Divines: and so, by a mixture of all three, with the rudeness and arrogance of his Own nature, had contracted a Proud and Venemous Dislike to the discipline of the Church of *England*; and so by degrees (as the Progress is very natural) an equal Irreverence to the Government of the State too; both which he vented in several absurd, petulant, and supercilious Discourses in Print.

THE Second, a half-witted, crack-brain'd Fellow, unknown to either University, or the College of Physicians; but one that had spent his time abroad, between the Schools and the Camp (for he had been in or pass'd through Armies) and had gotten a Doctorship, and Latin; with which, in a very flowing style, with some wit and much malice, he Inveigh'd against the Prelates of the Church in a Book which he printed in *Holland*, and industriously dispers'd in *London*, and throughout the Kingdom; having presum'd (as their Modesty is always equal to their Obedience) to Dedicate it *to the Sacred Majesty of the King*.

THE Third, had formerly a kind of relation by Service to the King; having, before he took Orders, waited as Closet-

keeper, and ſo attended at Canonical hours with the Books of Devotion upon his Majeſty when he was Prince of *Wales*; and a little before the death of King *James* took Orders: and ſo his Highneſs coming ſhortly to be King; the vapours of Ambition fuming into his head that he was ſtill to keep his Place, he would not think of leſs than being Clerk of the Cloſet to the new King, which Place his Majeſty conferr'd upon, or rather continued in, the Biſhop of *Durham*, Doctor *Neyl*, who had long ſerv'd King *James* there. Mr *Burton* thus diſappointed, and, as He call'd it, deſpoil'd of his Right, would not, in the greatneſs of his heart, ſit down by the affront; but committed two or three ſuch weak, ſawcy indiſcretions, as cauſed an Inhibition to be ſent him, "that he "ſhould not preſume to come any more to Court: and from that time he reſolv'd to Revenge himſelf of the Biſhop of *Durham*, upon the whole Order; and ſo turn'd Lecturer, and Preach'd againſt Them; being endued with Malice and Boldneſs, inſtead of Learning and any tolerable Parts.

THESE Three perſons having been for ſeveral follies and libelling humours, firſt gently Reprehended; and after, for their Incorrigibleneſs, more ſeverely Cenſured and Impriſon'd; found ſome means in Priſon of Correſpondence, which was not before known to be between them; and to combine themſelves, in a more Peſtilent and Seditious Libel than they had ever before vented; in which the Honour of the King, Queen, Counſellors, and Biſhops, was with equal licence blaſted and traduc'd; which was faithfully diſpers'd by their Proſelytes in the City. The Authors were quickly and eaſily known, and had indeed too much ingenuity to deny it; and were thereupon brought together to the Star-Chamber *ore tenus*; where they behaved themſelves with marvellous Inſolence; with full confidence demanding "that the Biſhops who ſate in the "Court (being only the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *London*) "might not be preſent, becauſe they were "their Enemies, and ſo Parties: which, how ſcandalous and ridiculous ſoever it ſeem'd then There, was good Logick and good Law two years after in *Scotland*, and ſerv'd to baniſh the Biſhops of that Kingdom both from the Council-Table and the Aſſembly. Upon a very patient and ſolemn Hearing, in as full a Court as ever I ſaw in that place, without any difference in opinion or diſſenting voice, they were all Three cenſur'd as Scandalous, Seditious, and Infamous perſons, "to "loſe their Ears in the Pillory, and to be impriſon'd in ſe"veral Jayls during the King's pleaſure: all which was executed with Rigour and Severity enough. But yet their itch of Libelling ſtill broke out; and their Friends of the City found a line of Communication with them. Hereupon the

Wiſdom

Wiſdom of the State thought fit, that thoſe Infectious Sores ſhould breath out their Corruption in ſome Air more remote from that catching City, and leſs liable to the contagion: and ſo, by an Order of the Lords of the Council, Mr *Pryn* was ſent to a Caſtle in the Iſland of *Jerſey*; Dr *Baſtwick* to *Silly*; and Mr *Burton* to *Guernſey*; where they remain'd unconſider'd, and truly I think unpitied (for they were men of no virtue or merit) for the ſpace of Two years, till the beginning of this preſent Parliament.

SHORTLY upon that, Petitions were preſented by their Wives or Friends, to the Houſe of Commons, expreſſing "their heavy Cenſures and long Sufferings; and deſiring, by way of Appeal, "that the juſtice and rigour of that Sentence "might be review'd and conſider'd; and that their Perſons "might be brought from thoſe remote and deſolate places to "*London*, that ſo they might be able to facilitate or attend "their own buſineſs. The ſending for them out of Priſon (which was the main) took up much conſideration: for though very Many who had no kindneſs, had yet compaſſion for the men; thinking they had ſuffer'd enough; and that though they were ſcurvy Fellows, they had been ſcurvily uſed: and Others, had not only affection to their Perſons as having ſuffer'd for a Common cauſe; but were concern'd to revive and improve their uſeful faculties of Libelling and Reviling Authority; and to make thoſe ebullitions of their malice not thought noiſom to the State: Yet a Sentence of a ſupreme Court, the Star-Chamber (of which they had not Yet ſpoke with Irreverence) was not lightly to be blown off: but, when they were inform'd, and had conſider'd, that by that Sentence the Petitioners were condemn'd to ſome Priſons in *London*; and were afterward remov'd thence by an Order of the Lords of the Council; they look'd upon that Order as a violation of the Sentence: and ſo made no ſcruple to Order "that the Priſoners ſhould be remov'd from thoſe "forreign Priſons, to the Places to which they were regularly "firſt committed. And to that purpoſe, Warrants were ſign'd by the Speaker, to the Governours and Captains of the ſeveral Caſtles, "to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to *London*: which were ſent with all poſſible expedition.

PRYN and *Burton* being Neighbours (though in diſtinct Iſlands) landed at the ſame time at *Southampton*; Where they were receiv'd and entertain'd with extraordinary demonſtrations of Affection and Eſteem; attended by a marvellous conflux of Company; and their Charges not only born with great magnificence, but liberal Preſents given to them. And this method and ceremony kept them Company all their journey, great herds of People meeting them at their entrance

trance into all Towns, and waiting upon them out with wonderful acclamations of joy. When they came near *London*, multitudes of People of several conditions, some on Horseback, others on Foot, met them some miles from the Town; very many having been a days journey; and they were brought, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon, in at *Charing-cross*, and carried into the City by above ten thousand persons, with Boughs and Flowers in their hands; the Common People strewing Flowers and Herbs in the ways as they pass'd, making great noise, and expressions of joy for their Deliverance and Return; and in those acclamations, mingling loud and virulent exclamations against the Bishops, "who had so cruelly prosecuted such Godly men. In the same manner, within five or six days after, and in like Triumph, Dr *Bastwick* return'd from *Silly*; landing at *Dover*; and from thence bringing the same testimonies of the Affections and Zeal of *Kent*, as the others had done from *Hampshire* and *Surrey*, was met before he came to *Southwark* by the good People of *London*, and so conducted to his Lodging likewise in the City.

I SHOULD not have wasted thus much time in a discourse of this nature, but that it Is, and was Then evident, that this Insurrection (for it was no better) and Frenzy of the People, was an effect of great Industry and Policy, to try and publish the Temper of the People; and to satisfy Themselves, in the activity and interest of their Tribunes, to whom that province of Shewing them was committed. And from this time, the licence of Preaching and Printing increased; to that degree, that all Pulpits were freely deliver'd to the Scismatical and Silenced Preachers, who till then had lurk'd in corners, or liv'd in *New-England*; and the Presses at liberty for the publishing the most Invective, Seditious, and Scurrilous Pamphlets, that their Wit and Malice could invent. Whilst the Ministers of the State, and Judges of the Law, like men in an Extasy, surpriz'd and amaz'd with several Apparitions, had no Speech or Motion; as if, having committed such an Excess of Jurisdiction (as men upon great Surfeits are enjoin'd for a time to eat nothing) they had been prescrib'd to exercise no Jurisdiction at all. Whereas, without doubt, if either the Privy-Council, or the Judges and the King's learn'd Council, had assum'd the courage to have Question'd the Preaching, or the Printing, or the Seditious Riots upon the Triumph of those three Scandalous men, before the uninterruption and security had confirm'd the People in all three; it had been no hard matter to have destroy'd those Seeds, and pull'd up those Plants, which being neglected, grew up and prosper'd to a full Harvest of Rebellion and Treason.

Treaſon. But this was yet but a rudeneſs and rankneſs Abroad, without any viſible countenance or approbation from the Parliament: all ſeem'd Chaſt within thoſe Walls.

THE firſt Malignity that was apparent There (for the Accuſation of the Arch-Biſhop and the Earl of *Strafford*, were look'd upon as acts of Paſſion, directed againſt particular Perſons, who were thought to have deſerv'd ſome extraordinary meaſures and proceeding) was againſt the Church: Firſt, in their Committee for Religion; which had been aſſumed ever ſince the latter times of King *James*, though ſeldom or never any ſuch thing had Before been heard of in Parliament; where, under pretence of receiving Petitions againſt Clergymen, they often debated Points beyond the verge of Their underſtanding: Then, by their chearful reception of a Declaration of many Sheets of Paper againſt the whole Government of the Church; preſented by ten or a dozen Miniſters, at the Bar; and pretended to be ſign'd by ſeveral Hundreds of the Miniſters of *London* and the Countries adjacent: and a Petition, preſented by Alderman *Pennington*, and alledg'd to be ſubſcrib'd by Twenty Thouſand men, Inhabitants within the City of *London*; who required, in plain terms, "the "total Extirpation of Epiſcopacy. Yet the Houſe was Then ſo far from being poſſeſs'd with that Spirit, that the utmoſt that could be obtain'd, upon a long Debate upon that Petition, was, "that it ſhould not be rejected; againſt which the Number of the Petitioners, was urg'd as a powerful Argument; only it was ſuffer'd to remain in the hands of the Clerk of the Houſe, with direction, "that no Copy of it "ſhould be given. And for the Miniſters Declaration, one Part only of it was inſiſted on by them, and Read in the Houſe; which concern'd the exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and the Exceſs of their Courts: the other parts were Declined by many of them, and eſpecially Order'd, "to be Seal'd up by the Clerk, that they might be peruſed "by no Man. So that all that Envy and Animoſity againſt the Church ſeem'd to be reſolv'd into a deſire, "that a Bill "might be fram'd to Remove the Biſhops from their Votes "in the Lords Houſe, and from any Office in Secular Affairs; which was the utmoſt Men pretended to wiſh: and to ſuch a purpoſe, a Bill was ſhortly after prepar'd, and brought into the Houſe; of which, more ſhall be ſaid in its proper place.

A Declaration of ſome Miniſters, and a Petition of ſome Citizens, againſt the Government of the Church by Biſhops.

IT was a ſtrange Diſingenuity, that was practiſed in the procuring thoſe Petitions; which continued ever after, in the like Addreſſes. The courſe was, Firſt to prepare a Petition very modeſt and dutiful, for the Form; and for the Matter, not very unreaſonable; and to communicate it at ſome Publick

Great Diſingenuity us'd in procuring Petitions.

lick Meeting, where care was taken it ſhould be received with Approbation : the Subſcription of very Few hands fill'd the Paper it ſelf, where the Petition was written, and therefore many more Sheets were annex'd, for the reception of the Number, which gave all the credit, and procured all the countenance to the Undertaking. When a multitude of Hands was procured, the Petition it Self was cut off; and a New One fram'd, ſuitable to the deſign in hand, and annex'd to the long Liſt of Names which were Subſcribed to the Former. By this means, Many men found Their hands Subſcribed to Petitions, of which, They before had never heard. As ſeveral Miniſters, whoſe Hands were to the Petition and Declaration of the *London* Miniſters before mention'd, have profeſs'd to many Perſons, "that They never "ſaw That Petition or Declaration before it was preſented "to the Houſe; but had ſign'd Another, the Subſtance of "which was, Not to be Compell'd to take the Oath enjoin'd "by the New Canons : and when they found, inſtead of "That, their Names ſet to a deſire of an Alteration of the Go-"vernment of the Church, They with much trouble went to "Mr *Marſhall*, with whom they had intruſted the Petition "and their Hands; who gave them no other Anſwer, but "that it was thought fit by Thoſe who underſtood Buſineſs "better than They, that the Latter Petition ſhould rather be "preferr'd than the Former. And when He found, they intended by ſome Publick Act to Vindicate themſelves from that Calumny; Such perſons, upon Whom they had their greateſt dependence, were engag'd, by threats and promiſes to prevail with them, to Sit ſtill, and to paſs by that Indirect proceeding.

Complaints againſt ſome particular Biſhops.

FOR the better facilitating and making way for thoſe virulent attempts upon the Church, Petitions and Complaints were exhibited againſt the Exorbitant Acts of ſome Biſhops; eſpecially againſt the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Ely*; who, they alledged, "had with great Pride and Inſolence, "provok'd all the Gentry, and Moſt of the Inhabitants with-"in their Dioceſſes. And the New Canons were inſiſted on, "as a moſt palpable Invaſion by the Whole Body of the "Clergy, upon the Laws and Liberty of the People.

And againſt the New Canons.

I SAID before, that after the Diſſolution of the former Short Parliament, the Convocation was continued by ſpecial Warrant from the King; and by his Majeſty, in a ſolemn meſſage ſent to them by Sr *Harry Vane* then Principal Secretary, "requir'd to proceed in the making of Canons, for the "better Peace and Quiet of the Church. Notwithſtanding this Command, the Chief of the Clergy, well knowing the Spirit of Bitterneſs that was contracted againſt them; and many

many obſolete Pamphlets againſt their Juriſdiction and Power, being, ſince the Commotions in *Scotland*, revived and publiſh'd with more freedom; deſired his Majeſty, "that the "Opinions of the Judges might be known and declar'd, Whe-"ther They might then lawfully Sit, the Parliament being "Diſſolv'd, and proceed to the making of Canons; as like-"wiſe, upon other Particulars in Their Juriſdiction, which "had been moſt inveigh'd againſt?

ALL the Judges of *England*, upon a mature Debate, in the preſence of the King's Council, under their Hands aſſerted, "the Power of the Convocation in making Canons, and "thoſe other parts of Juriſdiction, which had been ſo En-"viouſly queſtion'd. Hereupon, They proceeded; and having Compoſed a Body of Canons, preſented the ſame to his Majeſty, for his Royal Approbation. They were then again Debated at the Council-Board; not without notable Oppoſition: for upon ſome leſſening the Power and Authority of their Chancellors, and their Commiſſaries, by thoſe Canons, the Profeſſors of that Law took themſelves to be Diſobliged; and Sr *Henry Martin* (who was not likely to overſee any advantages) upon ſeveral days of Hearing at the Council-Table, with his utmoſt skill Objected againſt them; but in the end, by the entire and unanimous Advice of the Privy Council, the Canons were confirm'd by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*; and thereby enjoyn'd to be obſerv'd. So that whatſoever they were, the Judges were at leaſt as Guilty of the Firſt Preſumption in Framing them; and the Lords of the Council, in Publiſhing and Executing them; as the Biſhops, or the reſt of the Clergy, in Either.

YET the Storm fell wholely on the Church: and the Matter of thoſe Canons, and the Manner of making them, was inſiſted on, as a pregnant teſtimony of a Malignant Spirit in the very Function of the Biſhops. The truth is, the ſeaſon in which that Synod continued to Sit (as was obſerv'd before) was in ſo ill a Conjuncture of time (upon the Diſſolution of a Parliament, and almoſt in an Invaſion from *Scotland*) that nothing could have been Tranſacted there, of a Popular and Prevailing influence. And then, ſome ſharp Canons againſt Sectaries; and ſome Additionals in point of Ceremonies, countenancing, though not enjoining what had not been long practiſed, infinitely inflam'd Some, and troubled Others: who jointly took advantage of what ſtrictly was amiſs; as the making an Oath, the Matter of which was conceiv'd Incongruous; and enjoyning it to many of the Laity, as well as the Clergy; and likewiſe the granting of Subſidies.

So

which are condemn'd by the House of Commons.

So that the House of Commons (that is, the major part) made no scruple, in that Heat, to declare, "that the Convo-"cation-House had no Power at all of making Canons: notwithstanding that it was apparent by the Law, and the uncontradicted practice of the Church, that Canons had never been otherwise made: "and that those Canons contain'd in "them, matter of Sedition and Reproach to the Regal Power; "prejudicial to the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and "to the Privileges of Parliament. By the extent of which notable Vote and Declaration, they had involv'd almost the whole Clergy under the guilt of Arbitrary Proceedings; as much as they had done the Nobility and Gentry before, under their Votes against Lords Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Privy Counsellors, and Sheriffs; of which they made the same use: as shall be remembred in its proper place.

Money borrow'd of the City by the two Houses, for supplying the two Armies.

In the mean time, the two Armies were necessarily to be provided for, lest the Countries where their Quarters were, should come to be oppress'd by free Quarter; which would not only raise a very inconvenient noise, but introduce a necessity of Disbanding the Armies, which they were in no degree ready for: and Money not being to be raised soon enough in the regular way, by Act of Parliament, which would require some time in the passing; besides, that the Manner and Way of raising it had not been enough consider'd; and the Collecting it would require much time, even after an Act of Parliament should be pass'd: Therefore for the present Supply, it was thought fit to make use of Their Credit with the City; to whom a formal Embassy of Lords and Commons was sent; which were carefully chosen of Such Persons as carried the business of the House before them, that the performing the Service, might be as well imputed to Their particular Reputation and Interest, as to the Affection of the City: and these Men in their Orations to the Citizens, undertook "that their Money should be repaid "with Interest by the Care of the Parliament. And this was the First Introduction of the Publick Faith; which grew afterwards to be applied to all Monstrous purposes.

This expedient succeeded twice or thrice for such Sums as They thought fit to require; which were only enough to carry on their Affairs, and keep them in motion; not proportionable to discharge the Debt due to the Armies, but to enable them to pay their Quarters: it being fit to keep a considerable Debt still owing, lest they should appear too ready to be Disbanded.

A new Common-Council of the Party chosen.

They had likewise another Design in this Commerce with the City; Which, always upon the Loan of Money, used to recommend some such thing to the Parliament, as might

advance

advance the Deſigns of the Party; "as the Proceeding againſt "Delinquents; or "ſome Reformation in the Church: which the Managers knew well what uſe to make of upon any Emergency. When They had ſet this Traffick on foot in the City, and ſo brought their Friends There into more reputation and activity; Then, at Their Election for Common-Council Men (which is every Year before *Chriſtmas*; and in which, new Men had rarely uſed to be choſen, except in caſe of Death, but the old ſtill continued) all the grave and ſubſtantial Citizens were left out; and ſuch choſen, as were moſt Eminent for oppoſing the Government, and moſt diſaffected to the Church, though of never ſo mean Eſtates: which made a preſent, viſible alteration, in the Temper of the City (the Common-Council having ſo great a ſhare in the management of affairs There) and even in the Government it ſelf.

OTHER Ways were now to be thought of for getting of Money, which was, once at leaſt every Month, call'd for very importunately by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; which cauſed the ſame proviſion to be made for the *Engliſh* Forces. The next Expedient was, "That in ſo great an Exigence, "and for the Publick Peace, that the Armies might not en- "ter into Blood, by the determination of the Ceſſation, which "want of Pay would inevitably produce; The ſeveral Mem- "bers of the Houſe would lend Money, according to their "ſeveral Abilities; or that Such as had no Money, would be- "come Bound for it: and upon theſe terms enough could "be borrow'd. This was no ſooner Propoſed, but Conſented to, by all the eminent Leaders; and by many Others, in order to make themſelves the more acceptable to Thoſe; and ſome did it for Their Own convenience, there being little hazard of their Money, and full Intereſt to be receiv'd, and believing it would facilitate the Disbanding of the Armies; to which, all Sober Men's hearts were directed.

AND now to ſupport their ſtock of Credit, it was time to raiſe Money upon the People by Act of Parliament; which they had an Excuſe for not doing in the uſual way, "of "giving it immediately to the King, to be paid into the "Exchequer; becauſe the Publick Faith was ſo deeply en- "gag'd to the City for a great Debt; and ſo many parti- "cular Members in the Loan of Moneys, and in being Bound "for the Payment of great Sums, for which their Eſtates "were lyable: and therefore it was but reaſon, that for "Their Indemnity, the Money that was to be rais'd, ſhould "be paid into the Hands of particular Members of the Houſe, "named by Them; who ſhould take care to Diſcharge all

"Publick

A Bill pass'd for raising two Subsidies; the House of Commons naming Commissioners to receive the Money.

"Publick Engagements. The first Bill they pass'd being but for two Subsidies, which was not sufficient to discharge any considerable part of the Money borrow'd, They inserted in the Bill the Commissioners Names, who were to Receive and Dispose the Money. And the King made no pause in the Passing it: Himself not considering the Consequence of it; and None about him having the Courage to Represent it to him.

The same method afterwards continu'd.

FROM that time, there was no Bill pass'd for the raising of Money, but it was disposed of in the same, or the like manner; that none of it could be applied to the King's use, or by his direction. And they likewise took notice, "that "from the time of his Majesty's coming to the Crown, He "had taken the Customs and Impositions upon Merchandize "as his Own Right, without any Act of Parliament; which, "They said, no King had ever before done; insinuating withal, "that They meant to make a further Enquiry into "Those, who had been the chief Ministers in that pre-"sumption. They said, "No body could imagine, but that "they intended to grant the Same to his Majesty, in the "same manner, for his Life, as had been done to his Proge-"nitors by former Parliaments: But, that they found such an "Act could not be presently made ready: because the Book "of Rates now in practice (besides that it had not been made "by Lawful Authority) contain'd many Excesses, and must "be Reform'd in several particulars; in preparing which, "they would use all possible diligence, and hoped to effect it "in a short time: however, that the continuance of the Col-"lection in the manner it was in, without any Lawful Title, "and during the very sitting of the Parliament, would be a "Precedent of a very ill Consequence, and make the Right of "giving it the more Question'd; at least the less Valued. "And therefore it would be fit, that either all the present "Collection should be discontinued, and cease absolutely; "which was in the power of the Merchants themselves to "do, by refusing to pay any Duties which there was no Law "to compel them to: or, that a short Act should be presently "pass'd, for the continuance of those Payments for a short "time; against the Expiration whereof, the Act for granting "them for Life, with the Book of Rates, would be prepar'd, "and ready. There were many inconveniencies discover'd in the First, in discontinuing the Collection and Payment of Duties, "which would not be so easily reviv'd again, and "reduced into order: and that the Last would without pre-"judice to Either, both vindicate the Right of the Subject, "and secure the King's Profit: and so they prepared (with all the expressions of Duty and Affection to the King that

can

can be imagin'd) and preſented a Grant of thoſe Duties for ſome few Months. In which there was a preamble, "diſap-"proving and condemning All that had been done in That "particular, from his Majeſty's firſt coming to the Crown, to "that time; and aſſerting His whole Right to thoſe Pay-"ments, to depend upon the Gift of his Subjects: and con-cluded with "moſt ſevere Penalties to be inflicted upon Thoſe, "who ſhould preſume hereafter to Collect or Receive them "otherwiſe, than as they were, or ſhould be, granted by Act "of Parliament: which had never been in any other Act of Parliament declared: which the King likewiſe paſs'd. So all the Revenue He had to live upon, and to provide him meat, and which he had reaſon to expect ſhould have been more certainly continued to him, was taken into Their Hands; in order to take it from Him too, whenever they ſhould think it convenient to their other deſigns: of which, he ſhortly after found the miſchief.

THOUGH, as hath been obſerv'd, there was not hitherto one Peny of money given to the King, or receiv'd by His Miniſters; yet, becauſe Subſidies were rais'd upon the Peo-ple, according to the Formality of Parliaments; and as if all that great Supply had been to the King's own Coffers; It was thought neceſſary, that the People ſhould be refreſh'd with ſome behooveful Law, at the ſame time that they found them-ſelves charged with the payment of ſo many Subſidies. And under that conſideration; together with the Bill for Subſidies, Another was ſent up to the Lords, for a Triennial Parlia-ment: Both which, quickly paſs'd that Houſe, and were tranſ-mitted to the King. *A Bill for a Triennial Parliament paſs'd.*

IN that for the Triennial Parliament (though the ſame was grounded upon Two former Statutes in the time of King *Edward* the Third, "That there ſhould be Once every Year "a Parliament) there were ſome clauſes very derogatory to Monarchical Principles; as "giving the People Authority to "aſſemble together, if the King fail'd to call them; and the like: Yet his Majeſty, really intending to make thoſe Con-ventions frequent, without any great heſitation, enacted thoſe two Bills together; ſo much to the ſeeming Joy and Satisfa-ction of both Houſes, that they pretended "to have ſuffi-"ently provided for the Security of the Common-wealth; "and that there remain'd nothing to be done, but ſuch a re-"turn of Duty and Gratitude to the King, as might Teſtify "their Devotions; and that their only End was to make Him "glorious: But thoſe Fits of Zeal and Loyalty, never laſted long.

THE Lord *Finch*'s flight, made not only the Place of Keeper vacant, but begot ſeveral other Vacancies. The Seal was given to *Littleton*, who was then Chief Juſtice of the Common- *Sr* Edward Littleton *made Lord Keeper.*

Pleas; for which Place he was excellently fitted: but being a man of a grave and comely Presence, his other Parts were over-valued; his Learning in the Law being his Master-piece. And he was chosen to be keeper, upon the opinion and recommendation of the Two great Ministers under the cloud; who had before brought him to be a Privy-Counsellor, whilst Chief Justice, to the no little jealousy of the Lord *Finch*.

BANKS, the Atturney General, was weary enough of the Inquisition that was made into the King's Grants, and glad to be promoted to the Common Pleas. *Herbert*, the Solicitor General, who had sate all this time in the House of Commons, aw'd and terrify'd with their Temper, applying himself to Mr *Hambden*, and two or three of the Other, without interposing or crossing them in any thing; long'd infinitely to be out of that Fire: and so the Office of Atturney General, which at any other time had been to be wish'd, was now the more grateful, as it remov'd him from the other attendance: it not being usual in those times for the Atturney General to be a Member of the House of Commons: and he was call'd by Writ to attend the House of Peers, where he Sits upon the Wool-Sack at the back of the Judges.

FROM the time that there was no more Fear of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, nor the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, nor of any particular men who were like to succeed Them in Favour; All who had been active in the Court, or in any Service for the King, being totally dispirited, and Most of them to be disposed to any ill Offices against him; the great Patriots thought they might be able to do their Country better Service, if they got the Places and Preferments of the Court for Themselves, and so prevent the Evil Counsels which had used to spring from thence. For which purpose, They had then a fast Friend there, the Marquis of *Hamilton*; Who could most dextrously put such an affair into agitation, with the least noise, and prepare both King and Queen to hearken to it very willingly: and in a short time all particulars were well adjusted for every man's accommodation.

Great Offices design'd for some Heads of the Party.

THE Earl of *Bedford* was to be Treasurer: in order to which, the Bishop of *London* had already desired the King "to receive the Staff into His hand, and give him leave to "retire to the sole care of his Bishoprick; by which, he wisely withdrew from the Storm, and enjoy'd the greatest Tranquillity of any man of the Three Kingdoms, throughout the whole Boisterous and Destroying Time that follow'd; and liv'd to see a Happy and Blessed End of them, and died in great Honour. And so the Treasury was for the present put into Commission. Mr *Pym* was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer: which Office the Lord *Cottington* was likewise ready to surrender,

The Bishop of London *resigning the Staff, the Treasury is put into Commission.*

render, upon assurance of Indemnity for the future. These Two were engag'd to procure the King's Revenue to be liberally provided for, and honourably increas'd and settled.

AND that this might be the better done, the Earl of *Bedford* prevail'd with the King, upon the Removes mention'd before, to make *Oliver Saint-John* (who hath been often, and will be oftner mention'd in this Discourse) his Sollicitor General; which his Majesty readily consented to: hoping, that being a Gentleman of an Honourable Extraction (if he had been Legitimate) he would have been very useful in the present exigence to support His Service in the House of Commons, where his Authority was then great; at least, that he would be asham'd ever to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial to the Crown. And he became immediately possess'd of that Office of great trust; and was so well qualified for it, at that time, by his fast and rooted malignity against the Government, that he lost no credit with his Party, out of any apprehension or jealousy that he would change his Side: and he made good their confidence; not in the least degree abating his malignant Spirit, or dissembling it; but with the same obstinacy, opposed every thing which might advance the King's Service, when he was his Sollicitor, as ever he had done before. *Saint-John made Sollicitor General.*

THE Lord *Say* was to be Master of the Wards; which Place the Lord *Cottington* was likewise to surrender for his own quiet and security. And *Denzil Hollis* was to be Secretary of State, in the place of Secretary *Windebank*.

THUS far the Intrigue for Preferments was entirely complied with, and it is great pity that it was not fully executed, that the King might have had Some able men to have advised or assisted him; which probably These very men would have done, after they had been so throughly engaged: whereas the King had None left about him in any Immediate Trust in business (for I speak not of the Duke of *Richmond*, and some very Few men more about his Person, who always behaved themselves Honourably) who either did not Betray, or Sink under the Weight or Reproach of it.

BUT the Earl of *Bedford* was resolv'd, that he would not enter into the Treasury, till the Revenue was in some degree settled; at least, the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage pass'd, with all decent circumstances, and for Life; which both He and Mr *Pym* did very heartily labour to effect; and had in Their thoughts, Many good Expedients, by which they intended to raise the Revenue of the Crown. And none of them were very sollicitous to take their Promotions, before some other Accommodations were provided for some of the rest of their chief Companions: who would be neither well pleas'd

with Their ſo haſty advancement before them, nor ſo ſubmiſſive in the future to follow their dictates.

HAMBDEN was a man they could not leave unprovided for; and therefore there were ſeveral Deſigns, and very far driven, for the Satisfaction and Promotion of Him, and *Eſſex*, and *Kimbolton*, and Others; though not ſo fully concluded, as Thoſe before mention'd. For the King's great End was, by theſe Compliances, to ſave the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*, and to preſerve the Church from Ruin; for no body thought the Arch-Biſhop in danger of His life. And there were Few of the Perſons mention'd before, who thought their Preferments would do them much good, if the Earl were ſuffer'd to live; but in that of the Church, the Major Part even of thoſe Perſons would have been willing to have Satisfied the King: the rather, becauſe they had no reaſon to think the Two Houſes, or indeed Either of them, could have been induc'd to have purſued the contrary. And ſo the continued and renewed violence in the Proſecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, made the King well contented (as the other Reaſons prevail'd with the other Perſons) that the putting of thoſe Promotions in practice, ſhould be for a time ſuſpended.

A Propoſition made for borrowing money in the City.

WHEN there was a new occaſion, upon the Importunity of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, to procure more Money; and the Leading Men, who us'd to be forward in finding out Expedients for Supply, ſeem'd to deſpair of being able to borrow more; becauſe the City was much troubled and diſheartned, to ſee the Work of Reformation proceed ſo ſlowly, and no Delinquents Yet brought to Juſtice; and that till ſome advance was made towards thoſe longed for Ends, there muſt be no expectation of Borrowing more Money From, or In the City: At that time, Mr *Hyde* ſaid in the Houſe, "That He did "not believe the thing to be ſo difficult as was pretended; That "no Man Lent his money, who did not Gain by it; and that "it was evident enough, that there was Plenty of Money; "and therefore he was confident, if a ſmall Committee of the "Houſe were nominated, who, upon conſultation between "themſelves, might uſe the Name of the Houſe to ſuch men "as were reputed to have Money, they might prevail with "them to lend as Much as might ſerve for the preſent Exi-"gence. Whereupon the Houſe willingly approv'd the motion; and nam'd Him, Mr *Capel*, Sr *John Strangeways*, and Five or Six more, whom They deſired might be join'd with them; Who, the ſame or the next day, repair'd into the City; reſolving to apply themſelves to no men but Such who were of clear reputation in point of Wiſdom, and Sobriety of Underſtanding, as well as of Wealth and Ability to lend. And

after

after they had ſpoken Together with four or five eminent Men, they agreed to divide themſelves, and to confer Severally with their particular Acquaintances, upon the ſame Subject: Many men chooſing rather to Lend their Money, than to be known to have it; and being very Wary in their expreſſions, except in private.

WHEN they had again communicated together, they found that the Borrowing the Money would be very Eaſy; Every man with whom they had conferr'd, being ready and forward to Lend the Money, or to find a Friend who ſhould, upon Their Security who propoſed it. Moſt of them in their Private Diſcourſe ſaid, "that there was Money enough to be "Lent, if men ſaw there would be like to be an End of Bor-"rowing: but that it was an univerſal Diſcomfort and Diſ-"couragement, to all men of Eſtates and Diſcretion, to ſee "Two great Armies ſtill kept on foot in the Kingdom, at ſo "vaſt a Charge, when there remain'd no fear of War; and "that if a time were once appointed for the Disbanding them, "there ſhould not want Money for the doing all that ſhould "be neceſſary in order to it. This Anſwer ſatisfied Them in all reſpects: and the next day, Mr *Hyde* reported the Succeſs of their Employment; "that they had conferr'd with moſt "of the Subſtantial, and Beſt Reputed men of the City; "Who, by Themſelves and their Friends, had promis'd to "ſupply the Money which was deſir'd. And then He enlarg-ed upon "the Temper they underſtood the City to be in, by "the reports of Thoſe who might be reaſonably ſuppos'd to "know it beſt; That it was indeed very much troubled and "diſheartned, to ſee two Armies kept on foot at ſo vaſt a "Charge within the bowells of the Kingdom, when God be "thank'd all the danger of a War was removed; and that "They who were very able to make good what they pro-"miſed, had frankly undertaken, That if a peremptory day "was appointed for being rid of thoſe Armies, there ſhould "not be want of Money to diſcharge them.

THE Report was receiv'd with great Applauſe by the Major part of the Houſe; as was reaſonably collected by their Countenance: but it was as apparent, that the Governing Party was exceedingly perplex'd with it, and knew not on a ſuddain What to ſay to it: If they embraced the opportunity, to procure a ſupply of Money which was really wanted, it would be too great a Countenance to the Perſons who had procured it; whoſe Reputation they were willing to Depreſs: Beſides, it would imply Their Approbation of what had been ſaid of the Disbanding: at leaſt, would be a ground of often mentioning and preſſing it; and which, how grateful ſoever to moſt other men, was the thing they moſt abhorr'd.

After a long Silence Mr *Hambden* said, "that the worthy "Gentlemen were to be much Commended for the Pains they "had taken; of which, He doubted not, good Use would be "made: and so propos'd, "That it might be well thought "of, and the debate resum'd the next day; which could not be denied. The next day, Alderman *Pennington* (a man in highest confidence with the Party; and one, who insinuated all things to the Common-Council which he was directed should be started There) begun the discourse; and said, "that "the Gentlemen who had been last in the City to borrow "Money, had made a fair report, but that in the End of it, "there was *Colloquintida*: that He could not find with what "Persons They had conferr'd about the Temper of the City; "nor that any considerable People troubled themselves with "Designing or Wishing what the Parliament should do, "which they knew to be Wise enough, to know What and "When they were to do that which was Best for the King-"dom; and they acquiesced in Their grave Judgement: and "concluded, "that the Money that the House stood in need "of, or a greater Sum, was ready to be paid to whomsoever "They should appoint to receive it. The House made it selfvery Merry with the Alderman's *Colloquintida*, and call'd upon him "to explain it; and so the Debate ended: all Sober men being well pleas'd to see the Disorder they were in, and the Pains they had taken to Free Themselves from it; which every day was renew'd upon them, as the subject matter afforded occasion; and they visibly lost much of the Reverence, which had been formerly paid them.

but discouraged and defeated by the Party.

A Committee from Ireland, *in order to the Prosecution of the Earl of* Strafford.

About the beginning of *March*, they begun to make Preparations for the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*; who had then been about three Months in Prison, under the accusation of High Treason: and by this time, for the better supply in this Work, a Committee was come from the Parliament in *Ireland*, to sollicite Matters concerning that Kingdom. This Committee (most of them being Papists, and the Principal Actors since in the Rebellion) was receiv'd with great kindness; and, upon the matter, added to the Committee for the Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. So that now, *Ireland* seem'd no less intent upon the Ruin of that unfortunate Lord, than *England* and *Scotland*, there being such a Correspondence settled, between *Westminster* and *Dublin*, that whatsoever was practised in the House of Commons Here, was soon after done likewise There: and as Sr *George Ratcliff* was accus'd Here of High Treason, upon pretence of being a Confederate with the Earl in his Treasons; but in truth that he might not be capable of giving any Evidence on the Behalf of him, and thereupon sent for into this Kingdom;

dom: So All, or Moſt of the other Perſons, who were in any Truſt with the Earl, and ſo privy to the Grounds and Reaſons of the Counſels There, and only able to make Thoſe apparent, were accuſed by the Houſe of Commons in that Kingdom of High Treaſon; under the general Impeachment, of "endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of that "Kingdom, and to introduce an Arbitrary Power: which ſerv'd the turn There, to Secure their Perſons, and to Remove them from Councils, as it had done Here.

WHAT Seeds were then ſown for the Rebellion, which within a Year after broke out in *Ireland*, by the great Liberty and Favour that Committee found; who, for the good Service againſt that Lord, were hearkned to in all things that concern'd that Kingdom, ſhall be obſerv'd, and ſpoken of at large, hereafter.

MUCH time was ſpent in conſideration of the Manner of the Trial; for they could find no Precedent would fit their caſe: "Whether it ſhould be in the Houſe of Peers? which "Room was thought too little, for the Accuſers, Witneſſes, "Judges, and Spectators: Who ſhould Proſecute? Whether "Members choſen of the Commons, or the King's Council? "Whether the Biſhops (which were twenty four in number, and like to be too tender-hearted in matter of Blood, and ſo either to Convert many, or increaſe a Diſſenting Party too much) "ſhould have Voices in the Trial? Whether "thoſe who had been created Peers ſince the Accuſation "was carried up, ſhould be admitted to be Judges? And laſtly, "Whether the Commoners who were to be preſent "at the Trial, ſhould ſit Uncover'd? and, Whether any "Members of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be Examin'd "at the Trial on the behalf of the Earl? who had ſent a Liſt of Names, and deſir'd an Order to that purpoſe. *Conſiderations touching the Manner of his Trial.*

AFTER much debate it was agreed, "that the Trial "ſhould be in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, where Seats ſhould be built "for the reception of the whole Houſe of Commons, which "together with the Speaker ſhould be preſent: for they Then foreſaw, that they might be put to another kind of Proceeding than That they pretended; and (though with much ado) they conſented to ſit Uncover'd, leſt ſuch a little circumſtance might diſturb the whole deſign.

FOR the Proſecution, they had no mind to truſt the King's Council; who neither knew their Secret Evidence, nor, being inform'd, were like to apply and preſs it ſo viogorouſly as the buſineſs would require: and therefore, they appointed "that Committee which had prepared the Charge, "to give in the Evidence, and in the Name of all the Com-"mons of *England*, to proſecute the Impeachment.

FOR the Biſhops: after many bitter Invectives; and remembring the Faults of particular Perſons; and the Canons which ſeem'd to involve the Whole Body; with Sharpneſs and Threats: they took the caſe to be ſo clear upon an old Canon (the Onely one they acknowledged for Orthodox) that *Clericus non debet intereſſe Sanguini*, that they were content (to refer That to the Houſe of Peers, as proper only "for Their determination. And this they did, not upon any Confidence they had in the Matter it ſelf, whatever Law, or Reaſon, or Canon they pretended; or in the Lords, the major part of whom, when any difference of opinion was, always diſſented from Their deſigns: but that they had a trick of doing their buſineſs by Intimation; and had a ſure Friend amongſt the Biſhops, who had promiſed them ſeaſonably to free them of that trouble.

THEY would not truſt their Lordſhips own Inclinations with the other point, of the new Barons, which they knew would be controverted; but in plain terms demanded, "that "no Peer, created ſince the day upon which the Earl of "*Strafford* was Impeach'd of high Treaſon, becauſe they "were involv'd as Commoners in the making that Accuſa-"tion, ſhould ſit as Judges at his Trial.

FOR the Earl's demand, "of an Order to Examine ſome "Members on his behalf, upon matters of Fact, at his Trial; after a long Debate, they left it only in the Power of the Perſons Themſelves who were nominated, "to be Examin'd "if they would (not without ſome ſmart Animadverſions, "that they ſhould take heed What they did) and refuſed to Enjoin them; though the ſame had been done at Their deſire, for the Lords of the Council: but that was Againſt the Earl, and ſo the Leſs to be conſider'd.

THE Lords, in the abſence of the Lord Keeper, who was very Sick, made choice of the Earl of *Arundel* to Preſide and Govern the Court; being a Perſon notoriouſly diſaffected to the Earl of *Strafford*.

AND for the great buſineſs of the Biſhops, they were ſaved the labour of giving any Rule (which it may be would have troubled them) by the Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s ſtanding up, and moving, on the behalf of Himſelf and his Brethren, "that "They might be Excuſed from being preſent at the Trial, "being Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and ſo not to have Their hands "in Blood; and ſuch other Reaſons, as, when they are examin'd, will not be found of very great weight.

THIS Biſhop had been, by ſeveral Cenſures in the Star-Chamber, Impriſon'd in the Tower, where he remain'd till after the beginning of this Parliament, and was then ſet at Liberty upon the deſire of the Lords; who knew him to be a

mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*: and indeed, he had always been a Puritan ſo far, as to love None of the Biſhops, and to have uſed Many learned Church-men with great Contempt and Inſolence: and yet he left no way unpractiſed to aſſure the King, "that he "would do great matters in Parliament for his Service; if he "might be at liberty. The next day after, He came to the Houſe of Peers, the Lord *Say* made that Speech which he ſince Printed; taking notice "of ſome Imputations laid on "him by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, That he ſhould be "a Sectary; which no body can doubt, that reads that Speech: Yet he had no ſooner done, than that Biſhop roſe, and made a large Panegyrick in his Praiſe, and profeſs'd, "that he always believ'd his Lordſhip to be as far from a "Sectary, as Himſelf. And when he found the great deſire of the Houſe of Commons, to be freed from the Biſhops Votes in that Trial; he never left Terrifying them with the Cenſure that hung over Their heads for making the Canons, till he perſwaded them to Ingratiate themſelves, by deſiring to be Excuſed in that matter, before an Order ſhould be made for their Abſence.

THIS Example of the Biſhops, prevail'd with ſome Lords, who had been created ſince the Accuſation, to quit Their Right of Judging; and amongſt them, the Lord *Littleton* (who had been made a Baron upon the deſire of the Earl of *Strafford*, for that only reaſon, that he profeſs'd, "If He "were a Peer, he would (and indeed he could) do Him not-"able Service) was the Firſt who quitted his right to Judge, becauſe he had been a Commoner when the Accuſation was firſt brought up: but they who Inſiſted upon their Right (as the Lord *Seymour*, and others) and demanded the Judgement of the Houſe, were no more diſturb'd, but exerciſed the ſame Power to the end, as any of the other Lords did; and ſo, no doubt, might the Biſhops too, if they would: For, though there might be ſome reaſon for Their abſence, when the Trial was according to Law, before and by his Peers only; Yet, when that Judgement was waved, and a Bill of Attainder brought up againſt him, Their Votes in that Bill were as Neceſſary and Eſſential, as of any Other of the Lords. And it may be, their Unſeaſonable, Voluntary, Unjuſt quitting it Then, made many men leſs ſollicitous for the Defence of Their Right afterwards. But of that in its place.

ALL things being thus prepar'd, and ſettled; On *Monday*, the Twenty ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Strafford* was brought to the Bar in *Weſtminſter*-Hall; the Lords ſitting in the Middle of the Hall in their Robes; and the Commoners, and ſome Strangers of Quality, with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, and the Com- *The Trial began* March *the* 22*d.* 1640.

Committee of *Ireland*, on either Side; there being a close Box made at one End, at a very convenient distance for Hearing, in which the King and Queen sate untaken notice of: His Majesty, out of Kindness and Curiosity, desiring to hear All that could be alledged: of which, I believe, he afterwards repented himself; when "His having been Present "at the Trial, was alledged and urged to him, as an Argument for the Passing the Bill of Attainder.

The Charge against him.

AFTER the Earl's Charge was read, and an Introduction made by Mr *Pym*, in which he call'd him the *the Wicked Earl*; some Member of the House of Commons, according to Their parts assign'd, being a Lawyer, applied and press'd the Evidence, with great licence and sharpness of Language; and when the Earl had made his Defence, Replied with the same liberty upon whatsoever he said; taking all occasions of bitterly Inveighing against his Person: which reproachful way of carriage was look'd upon with so much Approbation, that one of the Managers (Mr *Palmer*) lost all his Credit and Interest with them, and never recover'd it, for using a Decency and Modesty in his carriage and language towards him; though the Weight of his Arguments press'd more upon the Earl, than all the Noise of the Rest.

THE Trial lasted Eighteen days, in which, "all the Hasty or "Proud Expressions, or words He had utter'd at any time since "he was first made a Privy-Counsellor; all the acts of Passion "or Power that he had exercised in *Yorkshire*, from the time "that he was first President there; his engaging himself in "Projects in *Ireland*, as the sole making of Flax, and selling "Tobacco in that Kingdom; his billeting of Soldiers, and "exercising of Martial Law there, his extraordinary way of "Proceeding against the Lord *Mountnorris*, and the Lord "Chancellor *Loftus*; his assuming a Power of Judicature at "the Council-Table, to determine Private Interests, and matter of Inheritance; some rigorous and extrajudicial Determinations in cases of Plantations; some high Discourses at the "Council-Table in *Ireland*; some casual and light Discourses "at his Own Table, and at Publick Meetings; and lastly, "some Words spoken in secret Council in this Kingdom, after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, were urged and "press'd against him, to make good the General Charge, of "an Endeavour to Overthrow the Fundamental Government "of the Kingdom, and to Introduce an Arbitrary Power.

His Defence.

THE Earl behaved himself with great shew of Humility and Submission; but yet, with such a kind of Courage, as would lose no advantage; and, in truth, made his Defence with all imaginable Dexterity; answering This charge, and evading That, with all possible Skill and Eloquence; and though

though he knew not, till he came to the Bar, upon what Parts of his Charge they would proceed againſt him, or what Evidence they would produce, he took very little time to recollect himſelf, and left nothing unſaid that might make for his own Juſtification.

FOR the buſineſs of *Ireland*; He complain'd much, "that "by an Order from the Committee which prepared his Charge "againſt him, all his Papers in that Kingdom, by which he "ſhould make his Defence, were ſeiz'd and taken from him; "and by virtue of the ſame Order, all his Goods, Houſhold-"ſtuff, Plate, and Tobacco (amounting, as he ſaid, to Eighty "Thouſand Pounds) were likewiſe ſeiz'd; ſo that he had not "money to ſubſiſt in Priſon: that all thoſe Miniſters of State "in *Ireland*, who were moſt Privy to the Acts for which he "was Queſtion'd, and ſo could give the beſt Evidence and "Teſtimony on his behalf, were Impriſon'd under the charge "of Treaſon: Yet he averr'd, That he had behav'd himſelf "in that Kingdom, according to the Power and Authority "granted by his Commiſſion and Inſtructions; and accord-"ing to the Rules and Cuſtoms obſerv'd by former Deputies "and Lieutenants. That the Monopolies of Flax and To-"bacco, had been undertaken by Him for the Good of that "Kingdom, and Benefit of his Majeſty: the Former eſtabliſh-"ing a moſt beneficial Trade and good Husbandry, not be-"fore practiſed There; and the Latter bringing a Revenue of "above Forty Thouſand pounds to the Crown, and advan-"cing Trade, and bringing no damage to the Subject. That "Billetting of Soldiers (which was alledged to be Treaſon, by a Statute made in *Ireland* in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth) "and the exerciſing of Martial Law, had been al-"ways practiſed by the Lieutenants and Deputies of that "Kingdom; which he proved, by the Teſtimony and Confeſſion of the Earl of *Cork*, and the Lord *Wilmot*; neither of which, deſired to ſay more for his behoof, than inevitably they muſt. He ſaid, "the Act of Parliament mention'd, of "*Henry* the Sixth, concern'd not Him; it comprehending "only the Inferior Subjects, and making it Penal to Them "to Billet Soldiers, not the Deputy, or Supreme Comman-"der; if it did, that it was Repeal'd by *Poyning*'s Act, in the "Eleventh year of *Henry* the Seventh: However, if it were "not, and that it were Treaſon ſtill, it was Treaſon only "in *Ireland*, and not in *England*; and therefore, that he could "not be Tried Here for it, but muſt be tranſmitted thither. He ſaid, "the Council-Table in *Ireland*, had a large Legal "Juriſdiction, by the Inſtitution and Fundamental Cuſtoms "of that Kingdom; and had, in all times, Determin'd mat-"ters of the Same nature, which it had done in His time:

"and

"and that the Proceedings There upon Plantations, had "been with the Advice of the Judges, upon a clear Title of "the Crown, and upon great Reaſon of State: and that the "Nature and Diſpoſition of that People, required a Severe "Hand and Strict Reins to be held upon them, which being "looſed, the Crown would quickly feel the Miſchief.

FOR the ſeveral Diſcourſes, and Words, wherewith he was charged; he Denied many, and Explain'd and put a Gloſs upon others, by the reaſons and circumſtances of the Debate. One particular, on which They much inſiſted, though it was ſpoken twelve years before, "that He ſhould ſay in the Pub-"lick Hall in *York*, that the little Finger of the Prerogative "ſhould ly heavier upon them than the Loins of the Law, he directly inverted; and prov'd, by two or three Perſons of Credit, "that he ſaid (and the occaſion made it probable, being upon the buſineſs of Knighthood, which was underſtood to be a Legal Tax) "the Little Finger of the Law was hea-"vier than the Loins of the Prerogative; that Impoſition for Knighthood, amounting to a much higher rate, than any Act of the Prerogative which had been exerciſed. "However, he "ſaid, "he hop'd no Indiſcretion, or Unskilfulneſs, or Paſſion, "or Pride of Words, would amount to Treaſon; and for "Miſdemeanours, he was ready to Submit to their Juſtice.

HE made the leaſt, that is, the worſt Excuſe, for thoſe Two Acts againſt the Lord *Mountnorris*, and the Lord Chancellor; which indeed were Powerful Acts, and manifeſted a nature exceſſively Imperious; and no doubt, caus'd a greater Diſlike and Terror, in Sober and Diſpaſſionate Perſons, than All that was alledg'd againſt him. A Servant of the Earl's, one *Anneſley* (Kinſman to *Mountnorris*) attending on his Lord during ſome Fit of the Gout (of which he often labour'd) had by accident, or negligence, ſuffer'd a Stool to fall upon the Earl's Foot; enrag'd with the Pain whereof, his Lordſhip with a ſmall Cane ſtruck *Anneſley*: this being merrily ſpoken of at Dinner, at a Table where the Lord *Mountnorris* was (I think, the Lord Chancellor's) He ſaid, "the Gentleman "had a Brother that would not have taken ſuch a Blow. This coming ſome months after to the Deputies hearing, he caus'd a Council of War to be call'd; the Lord *Mountnorris* being an Officer of the Army; where, upon the Article "of mov-"ing Sedition, and ſtirring up the Soldiers againſt the Gene-"ral, He was charg'd with thoſe words formerly ſpoken at the Lord Chancellor's Table. What Defence he made, I know not; for he was ſo ſurpriz'd, that he knew not what the matter was, when he was Summon'd to that Council: but the Words being prov'd, he was depriv'd of his Office (being then Vice Treaſurer) and his Foot-Company; commit-

ted

ted to Priſon; Sentenced, "to loſe his Head. The Office, and Company, were immediately diſpos'd of; and he impriſon'd, till the King ſent him over a Pardon, by which he was diſcharg'd with his Life; all the other parts of the Sentence being fully executed.

THIS ſeem'd to all Men a moſt Prodigious courſe of Proceeding; that in a time of full Peace, a Peer of the Kingdom and a Privy Counſellor, for an Unadviſed, Paſſionate, Myſterious Word (for the Expreſſion was capable of many Interpretations) ſhould be call'd before a Council of War, which could not reaſonably be underſtood to have Then a Juriſdiction over Such Perſons, and in Such Caſes; and without any Proceſs, or Formality of Defence, in two hours ſhould be Depriv'd of his Life and Fortune: the Injuſtice whereof, ſeem'd the more formidable, for that the Lord *Mountnorris* was known, for ſome time before, to ſtand in great Jealouſy and Diſfavour with the Earl: which made it look'd on as a pure act of Revenge; and gave all Men warning, how they truſted themſelves in the Territories where He commanded.

THE Earl diſcharged Himſelf of the rigour and ſeverity of the Sentence, and laid it upon "the Council of War; "where he Himſelf not only forbore to be Preſent, but would "not ſuffer his Brother, who was an Officer of the Army, to "ſtay there: he ſaid, "he had conjured the Court, to pro-"ceed without any reſpect of favour or kindneſs to Himſelf; "and that, aſſoon as He underſtood the Judgement of the "Council, which was Unanimous, he declared publickly "(as he had likewiſe done before) That a hair of his Head "ſhould not periſh; and immediately wrote an earneſt Let-"ter to his Majeſty, for the procuring his Pardon; which "was by his Majeſty, upon his Lordſhips recommendation "and mediation, granted accordingly; and thereupon, the "Lord *Mountnorris* was ſet at liberty: though, it is true, He "was, after his enlargement, not ſuffer'd to come to *England*. He concluded, "that the Lord *Mountnorris* was an Inſolent "Perſon; and that he took this courſe to humble him: and "that he would be very well content, that the ſame courſe "might be taken to reform Him; if the ſame Care might "likewiſe be, that it might prove no more to His prejudice, "than the other had been to that Lord.

BUT the Standers by, made another excuſe for him: "The "Lord *Mountnorris* was a Man of great Induſtry, Activity, "and Experience, in the Affairs of *Ireland*; having raiſed "himſelf from a very private, mean Condition (having been an inferior Servant to the Lord *Chicheſter*) "to the degree of a "Viſcount, and a Privy-Counſellor, and to a very ample Re-"venue in Lands and Offices; and had always, by Servile

"Flattery

"Flattery and Sordid Application, wrought himself into Truſt
"and Nearneſs with all Deputies, at their firſt entrance upon
"their Charge, informing them of the Defects and Over-
"ſights of their Predeceſſors; and, after the determination of
"their Commands, and return into *England*, informing the
"State here, and thoſe Enemies they uſually contracted in
"that time, of whatſoever they had done, or ſuffer'd to be
"done, amiſs; whereby, they either ſuffer'd Diſgrace, or Da-
"mage, aſſoon as they were recall'd from thoſe Honours. In
"this manner, He begun with his own Maſter, the Lord *Chi-*
"*cheſter*; and continued the ſame arts, upon the Lord *Grandi-*
"*ſon*, and the Lord *Falkland*, who ſucceeded; and upon that
"ſcore, procured Admiſſion and Truſt with the Earl of *Straf-*
"*ford*, upon His firſt admiſſion to that Government: So that
"this *Dilemma* ſeem'd unqueſtionable, That either the De-
"puty of *Ireland* muſt deſtroy my Lord *Mountnorris*, whilſt
"he continued in his Office, or my Lord *Mountnorris* muſt
"deſtroy the Deputy, aſſoon as his Commiſſion was deter-
"min'd. And upon this Conſideration; beſides, that his no
Virtue made him unpitied; many look'd with leſs concerned-
neſs upon that Act, than the matter it Self deſerv'd.

THE Caſe of the Lord Chancellor, ſeem'd, to common Underſtandings, an act of leſs Violence, becauſe it concern'd not life; and had ſome ſhew of Formality at leaſt, if not Regularity in the Proceeding; and that which was Amiſs in it, took its growth from a Nobler Root than the other. The endeavour was, to compel the Lord Chancellor to ſettle more of his Land, and in another manner, upon his Eldeſt Son, than he had a mind to, and than he could legally be compell'd to: This the Earl, upon a Paper Petition preferr'd to him by the Wife of that Son (a Lady, for whom the Earl had ſo great a value and eſteem, that it made his Juſtice the more ſuſpected) preſs'd, and in the end order'd him to do. The Chancellor refus'd; was committed to Priſon; and ſhortly after, the Great Seal taken from him, which he had kept with great Reputation of Ability for the ſpace of above Twenty years. In the preſſing this Charge, many things of Levity, as certain Letters of great Affection and Familiarity from the Earl to that Lady, which were found in her Cabinet after her death; others of Paſſion, were expos'd to the publick view, to procure Prejudice rather to his Gravity and Diſcretion, than that they were in any degree material to the buſineſs.

THE Earl ſaid little more to it, than "that he hoped, what
"Paſſion ſoever, or what Injuſtice ſoever, might be found in
"that Proceeding, and Sentence, there would be no Trea-
"ſon: and that, for his part, he had yet reaſon to believe,
"what he had done was very Juſt; ſince it had been review'd
"by

"by his Majesty, and his Privy-Council here, upon an Ap-
"peal from the Lord Viscount *Ely* (the degraded Lord
"Chancellor) and upon a solemn hearing There, which took
"up many days, it had receiv'd a Confirmation.

BUT the truth is, That rather accus'd the Earl of an Excess of Power than absolv'd him of Injustice; for most men that weigh'd the whole matter, believ'd it to be a high act of Oppression, and not to be without a mixture of that Policy, which was spoken of before in the Case of the Lord *Mountnorris*: For the Chancellor, being a person of great Experience, Subtilty, and Prudence, had been always very Severe to departed Deputies; and not over agreeable, nor in any degree Submiss, to Their full Power; and taking Himself to be the Second person in the Kingdom, during the holding of his Place, thought himself little less than Equal to the First, who could naturally hope but for a term of Years in that Superiority: neither had he ever before met with the least Check, that might make him suspect a Diminution of his Authority, or Interest.

THAT which was with most Solemnity and expectation alledged against the Earl, as the Hinge upon which the Treason was principally to hang, was a Discourse of the Earl's in the Committee of State (which They call'd *the Cabinet Council*) upon the Dissolution of the former Parliament. Sr *Harry Vane* the Secretary of State, gave in Evidence, "That the
"King at that time calling that Committee to him, ask'd
"them, Since he fail'd of the assistance and supply expected
"by Subsidies, what Course he should now take? that the
Earl of *Strafford* answer'd, "Sir, You have now done Your
"Duty, and your Subjects have fail'd in Theirs; and there-
"fore you are absolv'd from the Rules of Government, and
"may supply your self by Extraordinary Ways; You must
"prosecute the War vigorously; You have an Army in *Ire-*
"*land*, with which you may reduce this Kingdom.

THE Earl of *Northumberland* being examin'd, for the confirmation of this Proof, remember'd only, "that the Earl had
"said, You have done your Duty, and are now absolv'd from
"the Rules of Government; but not a word of the Army in *Ireland*, or reducing this Kingdom. The Lord Marquis *Hamilton*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Lord *Cottington*, being likewise examin'd, answer'd upon their Oaths, "that
"they heard none of those words spoken by the Earl. And
These were the only Persons present at that Debate, save only the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Secretary *Windebank*, neither of which could be Examin'd, or would be Believ'd.

THE Earl positively denied the Words; alledged much Animosity "to be in Sr *Harry Vane* towards him; and obser'v'd,

"that

"that not one of the other Witneſſes, who were likewiſe pre-
"ſent, and as like to Remember what was ſpoken, as the Se-
"cretary, heard one word of the *Iriſh* Army, or reducing this
"Kingdom: that if he had ſpoken thoſe words, it could not
"be underſtood to be ſpoken of *England*, but of *Scotland*, of
"which the Diſcourſe was, and for which that Army was
"known to be rais'd. He concluded, "that if the words were
"ſpoken by him, which he expreſsly denied, they were not
"Treaſon; and if they were Treaſon, that by a Statute made
"in *Edward* the Sixth's time, one Witneſs was not ſufficient
"to prove it, and that here was but one.

The Earl's concluſion of his Defence.

SEVENTEEN days being ſpent in the whole progreſs of this Trial; the Earl having defended himſelf with wonderful dexterity and ability, concluded, "that if the whole "Charge (in which he hoped he had given their Lordſhips "ſatisfaction of his Loyalty and Integrity, how great ſoever "his Infirmities were) was prov'd, that the whole made him "not guilty of High Treaſon; and to that purpoſe deſired, "that his Learned Council might be heard; and moſt pathetically conjured their Lordſhips, "that for their Own ſakes, "they would not, out of Diſpleaſure or Disfavour towards his "Perſon, create a Precedent to the Prejudice of the Peerage "of *England*, and Wound Themſelves through His Sides: which was good Counſel; and hath been ſince (though too late) acknowledged to be ſo.

His Council heard, as to matter of Law.

THE next day, his Council was heard in the ſame place to the matter of Law. And here I cannot paſs by an Inſtance of as great Animoſity, and indirect Proſecution, in that circumſtance of aſſigning him Council as can be given. After the Houſe of Peers had aſſign'd him ſuch Council as he deſired, to aſſiſt him in matter of Law (which never was, or can juſtly be denied to the moſt ſcandalous Felon, the moſt inhuman Murtherer, or the moſt infamous Traitor) the Houſe of Commons, upon ſome occaſion, took notice of it with Paſſion and Diſlike, ſomewhat unskilfully, "that ſuch a thing "ſhould be done without Their conſent; which was no more, than that the Judge ſhould be directed by the Proſecutor, in what manner to proceed and determine: Others, with much Bitterneſs, inveighing againſt "the Preſumption "of thoſe Lawyers, that durſt be of Counſel with a Perſon "accuſed by Them of High Treaſon; and moving, "that "They might be ſent for, and Proceeded againſt for that "Contempt; Whereas, They were not only obliged to it, by the honour and duty of their Profeſſion; but had been Puniſhable for refuſing to ſubmit to the Lords Orders. The matter was too Groſs to receive any Publick Order, and ſo the Debate ended; but ſerv'd (and no doubt that was the

Intention

Intention) to let thoſe Gentlemen know, how Warily they were to demean themſelves, leſt the Anger of that terrible Congregation ſhould be kindled againſt them.

BUT truly I have not heard that it made any Impreſſion upon thoſe Perſons; it did not, I am ſure, upon Mr *Lane*, who argued the matter of Law for the Earl. The Matters which were by Him principally Inſiſted on, and Averr'd with ſuch Confidence as a man uſes who believes himſelf, were Theſe: *Mr Lane's Argument for him.*

1. THAT by the Wiſdom and Tenderneſs of Parliaments, which knew that there could not be a greater Snare for the Subject, than to leave the nature of Treaſon undefined and unlimited, All Treaſons were particularly mention'd and ſet down in the Statute of the 25 *Edw.* III. *de Proditionibus*. That nothing is Treaſon, but what is comprehended within that Statute; all Treaſons before that Statute, as killing the King's Uncle, his Nurſe, Piracy, and divers others, being reſtrain'd and taken away by the Declaration of that Act. And that no Words or Actions, in any of the Articles of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Charge, did amount to Treaſon within that Statute.

2. "THAT by reaſon of the Clauſe in that Statute, of declaring Treaſon in Parliament, divers actions were declared to be Treaſons in Parliament, in the time of King *Richard* the Second, to the great Prejudice of the Subject: It was therefore ſpecially Provided, and Enacted, by a Statute in the Firſt year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, Chapter the Tenth, which is ſtill in force, That nothing ſhould be declared and adjudged Treaſon, but what was ordain'd in that Statute of the 25 *Edw.* III. by which Statute, all Power of declaring New Treaſons in Parliament, was taken away; and that no Precedent of any Such Declaration in Parliament can be ſhew'd ſince that time: All New Treaſons, made by any Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, being by the Statute of the Firſt year of Queen *Mary*, Chapter the Firſt, taken away, and reſtrain'd to the 25 *Edw.* III. and that likewiſe by another Statute of the Firſt year of Queen *Mary*, Chapter the Tenth, All Trials of Treaſons ought to be according to the Rules of the Common Law, and not otherwiſe.

3. "THAT the Foundation upon which the Impeachment was framed, was Erroneous; for that (beſides that it was confeſs'd on all hands the Laws of the Kingdom were Not Subverted) an Endeavour to Subvert the Fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, by Force attempted, is not Treaſon, being only made Felony by the Statute of the Firſt year of Queen *Mary*, Chapter the Twelfth; which

"is likewise expired. That Cardinal *Wolsey*, in the Thirty "third year of King *Henry* the Eighth, was indicted only of "a Premunire, for an Endeavour to bring in the Imperial "Laws into this Kingdom. And that an Endeavour, or In- "tention, to levy War, was made Treason, only by a Statute "of the 13th *Elizabeth* (a time very Inquisitive for Treason) "which expir'd with Her life.

4. "LASTLY, That if any thing was alledged against the "Earl which might be Penal to him, it was not Sufficiently "and Legally prov'd; for that by the Statute of the First year "of King *Edward* the Sixth, Chapter the Twelfth, No man "ought to be Arraign'd, Indicted, or Condemn'd, of any "Treason, unless it be upon the Testimony of Two lawful "and Sufficient Witnesses, produced in the Presence of the "Party accused; unless the Party Confess the same: and if "it be for Words, within Three Months after the same "spoken, if the Party be within the Kingdom: Whereas "there was in this Case onely One Witness, Sr *Henry Vane*, "and the words spoken six Months before.

THE Case being thus stated on the Earl's behalf, the Judgement of the Lords, in Whom the Sole Power of Judicature was conceiv'd to be, was by all men expected; the House of Commons having declar'd, "that They intended "not to make any Reply to the Argument of Law made by "Mr *Lane*, it being below their Dignity to contend with a "Private Lawyer. Indeed They had a more convincing way to proceed by; for the next day after that Argument, Sr *Arthur Haslerig* (Brother in Law to the Lord *Brook*) an absurd, bold man, brought up by Mr *Pym*, and so employ'd by that Party to make any attempt, preferr'd a Bill in the House of Commons, "for the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford* of "High Treason: it being observ'd, that by what the Earl had said for himself in the matter of fact and in matter of prudence, of the Consequence of such an extraordinary Proceeding; and by what had been said for him in the point of Law; most Sober men, who had been, and still were, full enough of Dislike and Passion against the Earl, were not at all satisfied in the Justice of the Impeachment, or in the Manner of the Prosecution: and therefore, that the House of Peers, which consisted of near one Hundred and Twenty, besides the Bishops, and of whom Fourscore had been constantly attending the Trial, were not like to take upon Them the Burthen of such a Judgement as was expected.

A Bill of Attainder brought into the House against the Earl.

THE Bill was receiv'd with wonderful alacrity, and immediately read the first and the second time, and so Committed: which was not usual in Parliaments, except in matters of great concernment and conveniency in the particular; or

of

of little importance or moment in the general. Thoſe who at Firſt conſented, upon ſlight information, to his Impeachment, upon no other reaſon, but (as hath been ſaid before) becauſe They were only to Accuſe, and the Lords to Judge, and ſo thought to be troubled no more with it, being Now as ready to Judge, as they had been to Accuſe, finding ſome new reaſons to ſatisfy themſelves, of which one was, "They "had gone too far to Sit ſtill, or Retire.

A DAY or two before the Bill of Attainder was brought into the Houſe of Commons, there was a very remarkable Paſſage, of which the Pretence was, "to make One Witneſs, "with divers Circumſtances, as good as Two; though I believe it was directed in truth to an End very forreign to that which was propoſed. The words of the Earl of *Strafford*, by which, "his endeavour to alter the frame of Government, "and his intention to levy War, ſhould principally appear, were proved Singly by Sr *Henry Vane*; which had been often averr'd, and promiſed, ſhould be proved by Several Witneſſes; and the Law was clear, "that leſs than Two Witneſſes "ought not to be receiv'd in caſe of Treaſon.

TO make this Single Teſtimony appear as Sufficient as if it had been confirm'd by more, Mr *Pym* inform'd the Houſe of Commons, "of the Grounds upon which he firſt adviſed "that Charge, and was ſatisfied that he ſhould ſufficiently "prove it. That ſome Months before the beginning of this "Parliament, He had viſited young Sr *Henry Vane*, eldeſt "Son to the Secretary, who was then newly recover'd from "an Ague; that They being together, and Condoling the "ſad condition of the Kingdom, by reaſon of the many ille-"gal Taxes and Preſſures, Sr *Harry* told him, if he would "call upon Him the next day, He would ſhew him ſomewhat "that would give him much trouble, and inform him, What "Counſels were like to be follow'd to the Ruin of the King-"dom; for that He had, in peruſal of ſome of his Father's "Papers, accidentally met with the Reſult of the Cabinet "Council upon the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, which "comprehended the Reſolutions then taken.

"THE next day He ſhew'd him a little Paper of the Se-"cretary's own writing; in which was contain'd the day of "the Month, and the Reſults of ſeveral Diſcourſes made by "ſeveral Counſellors; with ſeveral Hieroglyphicks, which "ſufficiently expreſs'd the Perſons by whom thoſe Diſcourſes "were made. The matter was of ſo Tranſcendent a Nature, "and the Counſel ſo Prodigious, with reference to the Com-"mon-wealth, that he deſir'd he might take a Copy of it; "which the young Gentleman would by no means Conſent "to, fearing it might prove Prejudicial to his Father. But

"when Mr *Pym* inform'd him, That it was of extreme Con-
"sequence to the Kingdom, and that a time might probably
"come, when the Discovery of This, might be a Soveraign
"means to preserve both Church and State, he was contented
"that Mr *Pym* should take a Copy of it; which he did, in the
"presence of Sr *Henry Vane*; and having examin'd it, toge-
"ther with him, deliver'd the Original again to Sr *Henry*.
"That he had carefully kept this Copy by him, without
"communicating the same to any body, till the beginning of
"this Parliament, which was the time he conceiv'd fit to
"make use of it; and that then, meeting with many other
"Instances of the Earl's ill Disposition to the Kingdom, it
"satisfied him to move whatsoever he had moved, against
"that great Person.

HAVING said thus much, he read the Paper in his hand; in which the day of the Month was set down, and his Majesty to be present, and stating the Question to be, "What "was now to be done? since the Parliament had Refused to "give Subsidies for the supply of the War against *Scotland*. There were then written, two *LL*'s and a *t* over, and an *I* and an *r*, which was urged, "could signify nothing but *Lord* "*Lieutenant of Ireland*; and the Words written and applied "to that Name, were, "Absolv'd from Rules of Govern-"ment; — Prosecute the War vigorously; — An Army in "*Ireland* to subdue this Kingdom —; which was urged, "to "comprehend the matter of the Earl's Speech and Advice: that Paper, by Fractions of Words (without mentioning any Form'd Speech) containing only the Results of the several Counsellors Advice. Before those Letters which were or-der'd to signify the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, were an *A. B. C. G.* which might be understood to signify, *the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury his Grace*; and at those Letters, some short, sharp expressions against Parliaments, and thereupon, fierce advice to the King. Next in the Paper, was an *M* with an *r* over, and an *Ho*, which were to be understood for Marquis *Hamilton*, who was *Master of the Horse*; and the words annex'd thereunto seem'd to be rough, but without a supplement signified nothing. Then there was an *L*, an *H*, and an *A*, which must be interpreted *Lord High Admiral*, which was the Earl of *Northumberland*; and from that Hieroglyphick proceeded only a few words, which implied advice to the King, "to be Advised by his Parliament. Then there was *Ld Cott* (which would easily be believ'd to signify *the Lord Cottington*) with some Expressions as sharp, as those applied to the Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

WHEN he had read this Paper, he added; That though "there was but One Witness directly in the point, Sr *Henry*

"*Vane*

"*Vane* the Secretary, whoſe Hand-writing that Paper was,
"whereof this was a Copy; Yet he conceiv'd, thoſe cir-
"cumſtances of His, and young Sr *Henry Vane*'s having ſeen
"thoſe Original Reſults, and being ready to Swear, that the
"Paper read by Him was a true Copy of the other, might
"reaſonably amount to the validity of another Witneſs:
"and that it was no wonder, that the Other Perſons men-
"tion'd in that Writing, who had given as bad Counſel,
"would not remember, for their Own ſakes, what had paſs'd
"in that Conference; and that the Earl of *Northumberland*
"(who was the only good Counſellor in the pack) had re-
"member'd ſome of the words, of a high nature, though he
"had forgotten the other.

When Mr *Pym* had ended, young Sr *Harry Vane* roſe, in ſome ſeeming Diſorder; confeſs'd all that the Other had ſaid; and added, "That his Father being in the North with
"the King the Summer before, had ſent up his Keys to his
"Secretary, then at *White-Hall*; and had Written to Him
"(his Son) that He ſhould take from him thoſe Keys, which
"open'd his Boxes where his Writings and Evidences of his
"Land were, to the end that he might cauſe an Aſſurance
"to be perfected which concern'd his Wife; and that He
"having peruſed thoſe Evidences, and diſpatch'd what de-
"pended thereupon, had the curioſity to ſee what was in a
"Red Velvet Cabinet which ſtood with the other Boxes;
"and thereupon requir'd the Key of that Cabinet from the
"Secretary, as if he ſtill wanted ſomewhat towards the buſineſs
"his Father had directed; and ſo having gotten that Key,
"he found, among other Papers, That mention'd by Mr *Pym*;
"which made that Impreſſion in him, that he thought him-
"ſelf bound in Conſcience to communicate it to ſome Perſon
"of better Judgement than himſelf, who might be more able
"to prevent the Miſchiefs that were threaten'd therein; and
"ſo ſhew'd it to Mr *Pym*; and being confirm'd by him, that
"the ſeaſonable Diſcovery thereof might do no leſs than Pre-
"ſerve the Kingdom, had conſented that He ſhould take a
"Copy thereof; which to his knowledge he had faithfully
"done; and thereupon, had laid the Original in its proper
"place again, in the Red Velvet Cabinet. He ſaid, He knew
"this Diſcovery would prove little leſs than his Ruin in the
"good opinion of his Father; but having been induced, by
"the tenderneſs of his Conſcience towards his Common Pa-
"rent his Country, to Treſpaſs againſt his natural Father, He
"hoped he ſhould find Compaſſion from that Houſe, though
"he had little hopes of Pardon elſewhere.

The Son no ſooner ſate down, than the Father (who, without any counterfeiting, had a natural appearance of Stern-

neſs) roſe, with a pretty Confuſion; and ſaid, "That the "ground of his Misfortune was now diſcover'd to Him; "that he had been much amazed, when he found himſelf "preſs'd by Such Interrogatories, as made him ſuſpect ſome "Diſcovery to be made, by ſome Perſons as converſant in the "Counſels as Himſelf: But he was now ſatisfied to whom "he ow'd his Misfortunes; in which, He was ſure, the "Guilty Perſon ſhould bear his ſhare. That it was true, be- "ing in the North with the King; and that Unfortunate Son "of his having Married a Virtuous Gentlewoman (Daugh- "ter to a worthy Member then preſent) to whom there "was ſomewhat in Juſtice and Honour due, which was not "ſufficiently ſettled, He had ſent his Keys to his Secretary; "not well knowing in what Box the material Writings lay; "and directed him, to ſuffer his Son to look after thoſe Evi- "dences which were neceſſary: that by this occaſion, it "ſeem'd, thoſe Papers had been examin'd and peruſed, which "had begot much of this trouble. That for His part, after "the Summons of this Parliament, and the King's return to "*London*, he had acquainted his Majeſty, that he had many "Papers remaining in his hands, of ſuch tranſactions as were "not like to be of further uſe; and therefore, if his Majeſty "pleaſed, he would burn them, leſt by any accident they "might come into hands that might make an ill uſe of them: "to which his Majeſty conſenting, he had burn'd many; "and amongſt them, the Original Reſults of thoſe Debates, "of which, that which was read was pretended to be a Copy: "that to the particulars, He could ſay nothing more, than "what he had upon his Examination expreſs'd, which was ex- "actly true, and he would not deny; though by what he "had heard that afternoon (with which he was ſurprized and "amazed) he found himſelf in an ill Condition upon that Te- "ſtimony.

THIS Scene was ſo well acted, with ſuch Paſſion and Geſtures, between the Father and the Son, that many Speeches were made in commendation of the Conſcience, Integrity, and Merit, of the Young Man, and a motion made, "that the "Father might be enjoin'd by the Houſe to be Friends with "his Son: but for ſome time there was, in Publick, a great diſtance obſerv'd between them.

MANY Men wonder'd very much at the unneceſſary relation of this Story; which would viſibly appear very Ridiculous to the World, and could not but inevitably produce much Scandal and Inconvenience to the Father, and the Son; who were too Wiſe to believe, that thoſe circumſtances would add any thing to the Credit of the former ſingle Teſtimony: neither was there ever after any mention of it in Publick, to

move

move the Judgment of Thoſe, who were concern'd to be ſatisfied in what they were to do: and therefore ſome who obſerv'd the Stratagems uſed by that Party to compaſs their own private Ends, believ'd, that this occaſion was taken to publiſh thoſe Reſults, only to give the Lord *Cottington* notice in what Danger he was, that ſo he might wiſely quit his Maſterſhip of the Wards to the Lord *Say*; who expected it, and might be able, by that obligation, to Protect him from farther Proſecution: and ſo that they meant to Sacrifice the Reputation of the Secretary to the Ambition of the Lord *Say*. But without doubt (though this laſt conſideration was very powerful with them) the true reaſon of the communication of this Paſſage, was, that they found it would be impoſſible to Conceal their having receiv'd the principal Information from the Secretary, for their whole Proſecution; by reaſon ſome of the Committee, who were intruſted to prepare the Charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and conſequently were privy to that Secret, were fallen from them; at leaſt from their ends; and therefore they thought fit to Publiſh this Hiſtory of the Intelligence, that it might be rather imputed to the Conſcience, and Curioſity of the Son, than to the Malice of the Father.

THE Bill of Attainder in few days paſs'd the Houſe of Commons; though ſome Lawyers, of great and known Learning, declar'd, "that there was no ground or colour in Law, "to judge him Guilty of High Treaſon: and the Lord *Digby* (who had been, from the beginning, of that Committee for the Proſecution, and had much more Prejudice, than Kindneſs to the Earl) in a very pathetical Speech declar'd, "that "He could not give his Conſent to the Bill; not only, for "that he was unſatisfied in the matter of Law, but, for that "he was more unſatisfied in the matter of Fact; thoſe "Words, upon which the Impeachment was principally "grounded, being ſo far from being prov'd by Two Wit-"neſſes, that He could not acknowledge it to be by One; "ſince he could not admit Sr *Harry Vane* to be a competent "Witneſs, who being firſt Examin'd, denied that the Earl "ſpoke thoſe Words; and at his ſecond Examination, re-"member'd Some; and at his third, the Reſt of the Words: and thereupon, related many Circumſtances, and made many ſharp Obſervations upon what had paſs'd; which none but one of the Committee could have done: for which he was preſently after Queſtion'd in the Houſe, but made his Defence ſo well, and ſo much to the Diſadvantage of Thoſe who were concern'd, that from that time, they Proſecuted him with an implacable Rage, and Uncharitableneſs upon all occaſions. The Bill Paſs'd with only Fifty nine Diſſenting Voices, there being

The Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons in few days.

being near two hundred in the Houſe; and was immediately ſent up to the Lords, with this addition, "that the Com-"mons would be ready the next day in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to "give their Lordſhips Satisfaction in the matter of Law, upon "what had paſs'd at the Trial.

Mr Saint-John *defends it in point of Law before the Lords.*

THE Earl was then again brought to the Bar; the Lords ſitting as before, in their Robes; and the Commons as they had done; amongſt Them, Mr Sollicitor *Saint-John*, from his place, argued for the ſpace of near an hour the matter of Law. Of the Argument it ſelf I ſhall ſay little, it being in Print, and in many Hands; I ſhall only remember Two notable Propoſitions, which are ſufficient Characters of the Perſon and the Time. Leſt what had been ſaid on the Earl's behalf, in point of Law, and upon the Want of Proof, ſhould have made any Impreſſion in their Lordſhips; He averr'd, "That, "in that way of Bill, Private Satisfaction to each Man's Con-"ſcience was ſufficient, although no Evidence had been "given in at all: and as to the preſſing the Law, he ſaid, "It "was true, we give Law to Hares, and Deer, becauſe they "are Beaſts of Chaſe; but it was never accounted either "Cruelty, or Foul Play, to knock Foxes and Wolves on the "head as they can be found, becauſe they are Beaſts of Prey. In a word, the Law and the Humanity were alike; the One being more Fallacious, and the Other more Barbarous, than in any Age had been vented in ſuch an Auditory.

The names of the Commoners Diſſenting from the Bill, expos'd under the Title of Straffordians.

THE ſame day, as a better Argument to the Lords ſpeedily to paſs the Bill, the nine and fifty Members of the Houſe of Commons, who (as is ſaid before) had Diſſented from that Act, had their Names written in pieces of Parchment or Paper, under this Superſcription, STRAFFORDIANS, *or Enemies to their Countrey*; and thoſe Papers fix'd upon Poſts, and other the moſt viſible places about the City; which was as great and deſtructive a Violation of the Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, as can be imagin'd: yet, being Complain'd of in the Houſe, not the leaſt Countenance was given to the Complaint; or the leaſt Care taken for the Diſcovery.

THE Perſons who had ſtill the Conduct of the Deſigns, began to find, that their Friends abroad (of whoſe help they had ſtill great need, for the getting Petitions to be brought to the Houſe; and for all Tumultuous appearances in the City; and Negotiations with the Common Council) were not at all ſatisfied with them, for their want of Zeal in the matter of Religion: and, though they had Branded as many of the Biſhops, and Others of the Prelatical Party, as had come in their way; and receiv'd all Petitions againſt the Church with encouragement: Yet, that there was Nothing done, or viſibly

visibly in Projection to be done, towards lessening their Jurisdiction; or indulging any of that Liberty to their Weak Brethren, which they had from the beginning expected from them. Besides, the discourse of their Ambition, and hopes of Preferment at Court, was grown publick, and raised much Jealousy of them.

But the truth is, They who had made in their hearts the most Destructive Vows against the Church, never durst Communicate their Bloody Wishes to their best Friends, whose Authority gave Them their greatest Credit. For besides that their Own Clergy, whose hands they produced in great numbers, to complain against the Innovations, which had (as They said) been Introduced; and against the Ceremonies, which had been in constant practice since the Reformation, as well as before; were far from being of one Mind in the Matter or Manner of what they wish'd should be alter'd; as appear'd, when ever they came before the House, or a Committee, when any of them were ask'd Questions they did not expect: There was less Consent among their Lay Friends, in Ecclesiastical Affairs, than amongst the other.

The Earl of *Bedford* had no desire that there should be any Alteration in the Government of the Church; and had always liv'd, towards my Lord of *Canterbury* himself, with all Respect and Reverence, and frequently visited and dined with him; Subscribed liberally to the Repair of St *Paul's* Church, and Seconded all Pious Undertakings: though, it is true, he did not discountenance notoriously those of the Clergy who were Unconformable.

The Earl of *Essex*, was rather displeased with the Person of the Arch-Bishop, and some other Bishops, than indevoted to the Function; and towards some of them, he had great Reverence and Kindness, as Bishop *Moreton*, Bishop *Hall*, and some other of the less Formal, and more Popular Prelates: and He was as much Devoted as any Man to the Book of Common-Prayer, and oblig'd all his Servants to be constantly present with him at it; his Houshold Chaplain, being always a most Conformable Man, and a good Scholar.

In truth, in the House of Peers, there were only at that time taken notice of, the Lords *Say* and *Brooke*, as positive Enemies to the Whole Fabrick of the Church, and to desire a Dissolution of that Government; the Earl of *Warwick* himself, having never discover'd any Aversion to Episcopacy, and much profess'd the contrary.

In the House of Commons, though of the chief Leaders, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and young Sr *Harry Vane*, and shortly after Mr *Hambden* (who had not before own'd it) were believ'd to be for Root and Branch; which grew shortly after a com-

mon Expreſſion, and Diſcovery of the ſeveral Tempers; Yet, Mr *Pym* was not of that mind, nor Mr *Hollis*, nor any of the Northern Men, or thoſe Lawyers who drove on moſt furiouſly with them; All who, were pleaſed with the Government it Self of the Church.

A Bill paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons to take away the Biſhops Votes in Parliament.

THE firſt Deſign that was entertain'd againſt the Church; and which was receiv'd in the Houſe of Commons, with a viſible Countenance and Approbation of many, who were neither of the ſame Principles nor Purpoſes; was a ſhort Bill that was brought in, "to take away the Biſhops Votes in Par- "liament; and to leave them out in all Commiſſions of the "Peace; or that had relation to any Temporal Affairs. This was contriv'd, with great Deliberation and Preparation, to diſpoſe Men to conſent to it: And to this, many of the Houſe of Peers were much diſpoſed; and amongſt them, none more than the Earl of *Eſſex*, and all the Popular Lords; who obſerv'd, "That they ſeldom carried any thing which di- "rectly oppoſed the King's Intereſt, by reaſon of the number "of the Biſhops, who, for the moſt part, unanimouſly con- "curr'd againſt it, and oppoſed many of their other Deſigns: "and they believ'd that it could do the Church no harm, "by the Biſhops having fewer Diverſions from their Spiritual "Charges.

IN the Houſe of Commons, they uſed That, and other Arguments, to remove the Prejudice from it; and, as there were many who were perſwaded, that the Paſſing that Bill would be no Prejudice; and were as unwilling, that the Biſhops ſhould be Juſtices of the Peace, or in any other Secular Commiſſions, as the Lords were that they ſhould Sit with them: So they prevail'd with Others, who heartily deſired that there might be no ſuch Diminution of their Honour and Authority, by perſwading them, "That there was ſo "great a Concurrence towards the Paſſing this Bill; and ſo "great a Combination throughout the Nation againſt the "whole Government of the Church, and a Reſolution to de- "ſtroy it abſolutely: in which the *Scots* were ſo reſolutely "engaged, that they diſcourſed in all Companies, That it "was impoſſible for a firm Peace to be preſerv'd between the "Nations, if Biſhops were not taken away; and that the Ar- "my would never march out of the Kingdom, till that were "brought to paſs: But that if this Bill were once Paſs'd, a "greater number in Both Houſes would be ſo well ſatisfied, "that the Violenter Party would be never able to proſecute "their Deſigns. And this reaſon did prevail over many Men of excellent Judgements, and unqueſtionable Affections; who did in truth at that time believe, "that the Paſſing this Act, "was the only expedient to Preſerve the Church: inſomuch,

as

as when it was brought into the Houſe, it found a better reception than was expected; and ſome Men, who, others thought, would have oppoſed it, ſpoke on its behalf, expreſſing their deſire "that it might Paſs.

THERE was a Difference in Opinion, in this Debate, between two Perſons, who had been never known to differ in the Houſe, and the entire Friendſhip they had for each other was very remarkable; which adminiſter'd much Pleaſure to very many who lov'd neither of them. When the Bill was put to the Queſtion, Mr *Hyde* (who was from the beginning known to be an Enemy to it) ſpoke very earneſtly "for the "throwing it out; ſaid, "It was changing the whole Frame "and Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and of the Parliament it "Self: That from the time that Parliaments begun, there "had never been one Parliament, where the Biſhops were not "part of it: That if they were taken out of the Houſe, "there would be but two Eſtates left; for that they as the "Clergy were the third Eſtate, and being taken away, there "was No body left to repreſent the Clergy: which would "introduce another piece of Injuſtice, which no other part of "the Kingdom could Complain of, who were All repre-"ſented in Parliament, and were therefore bound to ſubmit "to all that was Enacted, becauſe it was upon the matter "with their Own Conſent: Whereas, if the Biſhops were "taken from Sitting in the Houſe of Peers, there was No body "who could pretend to repreſent the Clergy; and yet they "muſt be bound by their determinations.

WHEN He had done; the Lord *Falkland*, who always ſat next to him (which was ſo much taken notice of, that, if they came not into the Houſe together, as uſually they did, Every body left the place for him that was abſent) ſuddainly ſtood up, and declar'd himſelf "to be of another Opinion; "and that, as he thought the thing it ſelf to be abſolutely "neceſſary for the Benefit of the Church, which was in ſo "great Danger; So he had never heard, that the Conſtitution "of the Kingdom would be Violated by the Paſſing that Act; "and that He had heard many of the Clergy proteſt, That "they could not acknowledge that they were repreſented "by the Biſhops. However we might preſume, that if they "could make that appear, that they were a third Eſtate, that "the Houſe of Peers (amongſt whom they ſat, and had yet "their Votes) would reject it. And ſo, with ſome Face-"tiouſneſs, anſwering ſome other particulars, concluded, "for "the Paſſing the Act.

THE Houſe was ſo marvellouſly Delighted, to ſee the Two inſeparable Friends Divided in ſo important a point, that they could not contain from a kind of Rejoycing; and the

the more, becauſe they ſaw Mr *Hyde* was much ſurprized with the Contradiction; as in truth he was; having never diſcover'd the leaſt inclination in the Other towards ſuch a Compliance: and therefore they entertain'd an Imagination, and Hope that they might work the Lord *Falkland* to a farther Concurrence with them. But they quickly found themſelves diſappointed; and that, as there was not the leaſt Interruption of cloſe Friendſhip between the other two; So, when the ſame Argument came again into Debate, about ſix Months after, the Lord *Falkland* chang'd his Opinion, and gave them all the Oppoſition he could: nor was he reſerv'd in acknowledging, "that he had been Deceiv'd, and by Whom; and confeſs'd to his Friends, with whom he would deal freely, "that Mr *Hambden* had aſſur'd him, that if that "Bill might paſs, there would be nothing more attempted "to the Prejudice of the Church: which He thought, as the World then went, would be no ill Compoſition.

THIS Bill, for taking away the Biſhops Votes out of the Houſe of Peers, produced another Diſcovery, which caſt the Conductors farther behind, than they were Advanced by their Conqueſt amongſt the Commons; and diſquieted them much more, than the other had Exalted them. How currently ſoever it had paſs'd in the Lower Houſe; when it was brought to the Upper, the Lords gave it not ſo gracious a reception as was expected: Many of the greateſt Men of that Houſe, grew weary of the Empire which the Others had exerciſed over them; and ſome, who had gone with them, upon their obſervation that they had worſe Deſigns than they own'd, fell from them, and took the opportunity to diſcover themſelves, upon the Debate of this Bill; againſt which, they inveigh'd with great ſharpneſs; and blamed the Houſe of Commons, "for preſuming to meddle with an Affair, that ſo "immediately concern'd Themſelves: That if they might "ſend up a Bill this day, at Once to take out one whole "Bench from the Houſe, as this would do the Biſhops, they "might to Morrow ſend Another, to take away the Barons, "or ſome other degree of the Nobility: with many more Arguments, as the nature of the thing would eaſily adminiſter; with ſuch Warmth and Vigour, as They had not before expreſs'd: Inſomuch as, though the other Party, which had not hitherto been withſtood, ſet up their Reſt upon the carrying it; ſupplying their other Arguments with that, "How much the Houſe of Commons, which beſt knew the "temper and expectation of the Nation, would Reſent their "not concurring with them, in a Remedy they judg'd ſo "neceſſary; and what the Conſequence might be of ſuch a "Breach between the Two Houſes, they trembled to think;

"ſince

"ſince the Kingdom had no hope of being Preſerv'd but by
"Their Union, and the Effects of their Wiſdom, in Remov-
"ing all Things, and all Perſons, out of the way, which were
"like to Obſtruct ſuch a through Reformation, as the King-
"dom needs and expects; All which, had ſo little effect, *The Houſe of Lords Reject the Bill.*
that the Houſe could not be prevail'd with, ſo much as to Commit the Bill (a countenance, they frequently give to Bills they never intend to paſs) but at the Second reading it, they utterly caſt it out.

THIS unexpected, and unimagin'd act, caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Spirits of the Governing Party, in both Houſes, that they knew not what to do: the Miſchiefs which were in view, by this diſcovery of the temper of the Houſe of Peers, had no bottom; they were not now ſure, that they ſhould be able to carry any thing; for the major part, which threw out this Bill, might croſs them in any thing they went about: beſides the Influence it would have in the Houſe of Commons, and every where elſe; for they knew very well, how many of their followers therefore follow'd Them, becauſe they believ'd They would carry all before them.

HOWEVER, that their Spirits might not be thought to fail, they made haſt to proceed in all the angry, and cholerick things before them: to the Trial of the Earl of *Strafford*; Impeaching ſeveral Biſhops for Innovations, and the like; the Houſe of Commons, being very diligent, to kindle thoſe Fires which might warm the Peers: and that the Biſhops might ſee how little they had gotten, by obſtructing the other Bill, They prepared a very ſhort Bill, "for the utter Eradi-
"cation of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters; with all Chancel-
"lors, Officials, and all Officers, and other perſons, belong-
"ing to Either of them: which they prevail'd with Sr *Edward Deering*, a man very oppoſite to all their deſigns (but a man of levity and vanity; eaſily flatter'd, by being commended) to Preſent in to the Houſe; which he did from the Gallery, with the two Verſes in *Ovid*; the application whereof, was his greateſt motive; *A Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons by* Sr Edward Deering *for Extirpating Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters, &c.*

Cuncta prius tentanda, ſed immedicabile vulnus
Enſe recidendum eſt, ne pars ſincera trahatur.

He took notice of "the great Moderation and Candour of
"the Houſe, in applying ſo gentle a Remedy, by the late
"Bill, to Retrench the Exorbitancies of the Clergy: hoping,
"that by the pruning and taking off a few unneceſſary Branches
"from the Trunk, the Tree might proſper the better; that
"This Mortification might have mended their Conſtitution,
"and that they would have the more carefully intended their
"health: but that this ſoft Remedy had proved ſo ineffectual,
"that they were grown more obſtinate and Incorrigible; So that

"it

"it was now neceſſary to put the Ax to the Root of the Tree; and therefore deſired, "that the Bill might be read.

As ſoon as the Title of it was read (which was almoſt as long as the Bill it ſelf) it was moved with great warmth, "that the Bill might Not be read: That it was againſt the "Cuſtom and Rule of the Houſe of Commons, that any Pri- "vate perſon ſhould take upon him (without having firſt ob- "tain'd the leave and direction of the Houſe) to bring in "a New Act, ſo much as to abrogate and aboliſh any Old "ſingle Law; and therefore, that it was a wonderful Preſum- "ption in that Gentleman, without any communication of "his purpoſe, or ſo much as a motion that he might do it, "to bring in a Bill, that overthrew and repeal'd ſo Many "Acts of Parliament, and changed and confounded the whole "Frame of the Government of the Kingdom: and therefore deſired, "that it might be Rejected. The Gentleman who brought it in, made many Excuſes "for his Ignorance in the "Cuſtoms of Parliament, having never before ſerv'd in any; and acknowledg'd, "that he had never read more than the "Title of the Bill; and was prevail'd with by his Neighbour "who ſate next to him (who was Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*) to de- "liver it; which he ſaw would have been done by ſome body elſe. Though the Rejecting it, was earneſtly urged by very Many; and ought, by the Rules of the Houſe, to have been done; yet all the Other people, as violently preſs'd the Reading it; and none ſo Importunately, as *Saint-John*, who was at this time the King's Sollicitor (who in truth had drawn it) He ſaid, "No body could judge of a Bill by the "Title, which might be falſe; and this Bill, for ought any "one knew to the contrary, at leaſt, for ought He and many "others knew, might contain, the Eſtabliſhing the Biſhops, "and granting other Immunities to the Church; inſtead of "purſuing the matter of the Title; and Others, as Ingeni- ouſly declaring, "That our Orders are in our Own power, "and to be Alter'd, or Diſpenſed with, as We ſee cauſe, Many out of Curioſity deſiring to hear it read; and More to ſhew the Lords that they would not abate their mettal; upon their declaring their pleaſure, the Bill was at laſt Read; and

but laid by for that time.

no Queſtion being put, upon the Firſt reading, it was laid by, and not call'd upon in a long time after: many men being really perſwaded, that there was no intention to purſue it; and that it was only brought in, to manifeſt a neglect towards the Lords.

A Vote paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Court of York.

THE Northern Gentlemen, at leaſt They who were moſt active, and had moſt credit (as *Hotham*, and *Cholmely*, and *Stapleton*) were marvellouſly ſollicitous, to diſpatch the Com- mitment of the Bill "for taking away the Court of *York*;

and

and having after great Debate, and hearing what all Parties interested could offer, gotten the Committee to Vote, "That "it was an Illegal Commission, and very Prejudicial to the "Liberty and the Property of his Majesty's Subjects of those "Four Northern Counties, where that Jurisdiction was ex- "ercised; They call'd upon Mr *Hyde* (the Chairmain) to make the Report: and the House having concurr'd in, and confirm'd, the same Vote; they appointed Him "to prepare "himself to deliver the Opinion of the House at a Conference "with the House of Peers, and to desire Their Concurrence "in it; and that They would thereupon be Suitors to the "King, that there might be no more Commissions of that "kind granted: for they had a great apprehension, that either upon the Earl of *Strafford*'s Resignation, or his Death (which they resolv'd should be very shortly) they should have a new President put over them.

A Confe-rence with the Lords about it.

Mr Hyde, at the Conference in the Painted Chamber (being appointed by the House to manage it) told the Lords, "That the Four Northern Counties were Suitors to their "Lordships, that They might not be distinguished from the "rest of his Majesty's Subjects, in the administration of his "Justice, and receiving the Fruits of it; that they only were "left to the Arbitrary Power of a President and Council, "which every day procured new Authority and Power to "oppress them: He told them, "That till the thirty first "year of King *Harry* the Eighth, the administration of Justice "was the same in the North, as in the West, or other parts "of the Realm; that about that time, there was some Insur- "rection in that Country, which produced great Disorders "and Bloodshed, which spread it self to the very Borders of "*Scotland*: whereupon, that King issued out a Commission to "the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and the principal Gentlemen of "those Counties, and some learned Lawyers, to Examine the "Grounds of all those Disorders, and to proceed against the "Malefactors with all severity, according to the Laws of the "Land. He read the first Commission to them; which ap- pear'd to be no other, than a bare Commission of Oyer and Terminer. "It was found that this Commission did much "good, and therefore it was kept on foot for some time longer "than such Commissions use to be; and it was often renew'd "after, but still in the same Form, or very little Alteration, "till Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and then there was an Alte- "ration in the Commission it self; besides that, it had refe- "rence to Instructions, which contain'd matters of State upon "some emergent occasions: There were more, and greater "Alterations, both in the Commission and Instructions, in the "time of King *James*, when the Lord *Scroop* was President;

"and

"and that, when the Lord *Strafford* was first made President, "they were more enlarged; and yet He had procured new "Additions to be made Twice after. The Instructions of the Several times were read, and the Alterations observ'd, and some Precedents very pertinently urged; in which it appear'd, that Great men had been very severely Sentenced, in no less Penalty than of a Premunire, for Procuring and Executing such Commissions; and He concluded, with de- "firing the Lords to concur in the same Sense, the House of "Commons had express'd themselves to be of, with reference "to the Commission and Instructions.

The Lords concurr'd with the Commons.

THE Speech, and Argument, met with good Approbation in both Houses; where He got great Credit by it: and the Earl of *Bath*, who was to Report it, and had no excellent or graceful Pronunciation, came Himself to Mr *Hyde*, and "de- "fired a Copy of it, that he might not do him wrong in "the House, by the Report; and having receiv'd it, it was Read in the House, and by order Entred, and the Paper it self affix'd to their Journal; where it still remains; and the House of Peers fully concurr'd with the Commons in Their Vote: So that there was not, in many years after, any Attempt, or so much as Mention of another Commission.

THE Northern men were so well pleased, that they re- solv'd to move the House, "to give Mr *Hyde* Publick Thanks "for the Service he had done the House; but the Principal Leaders diverted them from it, by saying, "That he had too "much Credit already, and needed not such an Addition, as "He behaved himself. However, those Northern men Themselves continued marvellously kind; and on His be- half, on all occasions, opposed any Combination of the most Powerful of them against him: of which somewhat will be said hereafter.

THE Opposition in the Lords House, and the frequent Contradiction in the House of Commons, had allay'd much of the Fury which had so much prevail'd; and all men im- patiently desired that the Armies might be Discharg'd; when all men believ'd, better quarter would be kept; but no pro- gress would be made towards that, till the Earl of *Strafford*'s business could be dispatch'd; the *Scots*, being bound to gra- tify their *English* Friends in that particular, as if it were their Own work. They who treated for the Promotions at Court, were sollicitous to finish that; as what would do all the rest: and the King was as positive, not to do any thing to- wards it, till he might secure the Life of the Earl of *Strafford*; which being done, He would do any thing. And the Earl of *Bedford*, who had in truth more Authority with the Vio- lent Men than any body else, labour'd heartily to bring it to pass.

IN

In the Afternoon of the same day (when the Conference had been in the Painted Chamber upon the Court of *York*) Mr *Hyde* going to a Place call'd *Pickadilly* (which was a fair House for Entertainment, and Gaming, with handsome Gravel-walks with Shade, and where were an upper and lower Bowling-Green, whither very many of the Nobility, and Gentry of the best Quality, resorted, both for exercise and Conversation) Assoon as ever He came into the ground, the Earl of *Bedford* came to him: and after some short Compliments upon what had pass'd in the Morning, told him, "He was glad he was come thither, for there was a Friend "of his in the lower ground, who needed his counsel. He then lamented "the Misery the Kingdom was like to fall "into, by their Own Violence, and want of Temper, in the "Prosecution of their own Happiness. He said, "This bu- "siness concerning the Earl of *Strafford*, was a Rock upon "which we should all Split, and that the Passion of the Par- "liament would Destroy the Kingdom. That the King was "ready to do all They could desire, if the Life of the Earl of "*Strafford* might be spared: That his Majesty was satisfied, "that He had proceeded with more Passion in many things, "than he ought to have done, by which he had render'd "himself Useless to His Service for the future; and therefore "He was well content, that he might be made incapable of "any Employment for the time to come; and that he should "be Banish'd, or Imprison'd for his Life, as They should "choose: That if they would take his Death upon Them, by "their Own Judicatory, He would not Interpose any Act of "his Own Conscience: But since they had declined that "way, and meant to proceed by an Act of Parliament, to "which He himself must be a Party, that it could not con- "sist with His Conscience, ever to give his Royal Assent to "that Act; because, having been present at the whole Trial (as he had been, in a Box provided on purpose, *Incognito*, though Conspicuous enough) "and heard all the Testimony, "they had given against him, He had heard nothing prov'd, "by which he could believe that he was a Traitor, either in "Fact, or in Intention: and therefore his Majesty did most "earnestly desire, that the two Houses would not bring him "a Bill to Pass, which in Conscience he could not, and would "not Consent to.

The Earl continued; "That though He yet was satisfied "so well in his Own Conscience, that he believ'd he should "have no Scruple in giving his own Vote for the Passing it (for it yet depended in the Lords House) "He knew not "how the King could be press'd to do an Act so contrary to "his own Conscience; and that for His part, He took all

"the pains he could to perſwade his Friends, to Decline their "violent Proſecution, and to be content with the Remedy "propoſed by the King; which he thought might be ren- "der'd ſo ſecure, that there need remain no Fears of that "man's ever appearing again in Buſineſs: and that how dif- "ficult a work ſoever he found it to be, he ſhould not de- "ſpair of it, if he could perſwade the Earl of *Eſſex* to com- "ply; but that he found him ſo obſtinate, that he could not "in the leaſt degree prevail with him; that he had left his "Brother, the Earl of *Hertford* (who was that day made a "Marquis) in the lower ground, walking with him, who he "knew would do all He could; and he deſir'd Mr *Hyde*, to "walk down into that place, and take his turn, to perſwade "the Earl of *Eſſex* to what was reaſonable; which He was very willing to do.

He found the Marquis and the Earl walking there toge- ther, and no other perſons with them; and as ſoon as they ſaw Him, they Both came to meet him; and the Marquis, after a ſhort Salutation, departed, and left the other Two to- gether; which he did purpoſely. The Earl begun merrily, in telling Him; "That He had that Morning perform'd a "Service, which He knew he did not intend to do; that by "what He had ſaid againſt the Court of *York*, he had revi- "ved Their Indignation againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; So "that He now hoped, they ſhould proceed in their Bill a- "gainſt him with Vigour (whereas they had ſlept ſo long "upon it) which he ſaid was the Effect, of which he was ſure "He had no mind to be the Cauſe. Mr *Hyde* confeſs'd, "He had indeed no Such purpoſe; and hoped, that ſome- "what he had ſaid might put Other thoughts into them, to "proceed in another manner upon his Crimes; That He "knew well, that the Cauſe of their having ſlept ſo long upon "the Bill, was their Diſagreement upon the point of Trea- "ſon, which the longer they thought of, would adminiſter "the more Difficulties: But that if they declined That, they "ſhould all agree, that there were Crimes and Miſdemeanours "evidently enough Proved, to deſerve ſo Severe a Cenſure, "as would abſolutely take away all Power from the Earl of "*Strafford*, that might prove Dangerous to the Kingdom; or "Miſchievous to any particular Perſon, to whom he was not "a Friend.

He ſhook his head, and anſwer'd, "Stone-Dead hath no "Fellow: that if he were judged Guilty in a Premunire, ac- "cording to the Precedents cited by Him; or Fined in any "other way; and Sentenced to be Impriſon'd during his "Life; the King would preſently grant him his Pardon, and "his Eſtate, releaſe all Fines, and would likewiſe give him

"his Liberty, assoon as He had a mind to receive his Ser-
"vice; which would be assoon as the Parliament should be
"ended. And when Mr *Hyde* was ready to reply to him;
"the Earl told him familiarly, "that he had been Tired
"that Afternoon upon that Argument, and therefore desired
"him to continue the discourse no longer Then; assuring
"him, He would be ready to Confer with him upon it at
"any other time.

SHORTLY after, Mr *Hyde* took another opportunity to speak freely with him again concerning it, but found him upon his guard; and though he heard all the Other would say, with great patience, yet he did not at all enlarge in his answers, but seem'd fix'd in his resolution: and when he was press'd, "how unjustifiable a thing it was, for any man to
"do any thing which his Conscience inform'd him was Sin-
"ful; that he knew him so well, that if He were not sa-
"tisfied in his Own Conscience, of the Guilt of the Earl of
"*Strafford*, the King could never be able to oblige him to
"give his Vote for that Bill; and therefore He wonder'd,
"how he could urge the King, to do an act which He de-
"clared to be so much against his Conscience, that he neither
"could, nor would, ever give his Royal Assent to that Bill:
The Earl answer'd more at large, and with some commotion (as if he were in truth possess'd with that opinion himself) "That the King was obliged in Conscience to conform
"Himself, and his own Understanding, to the Advice and
"Conscience of his Parliament: which was a Doctrine newly resolv'd by their Divines, and of great Use to them for the pursuing their future Counsels.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, the Bill had not that warm reception in the House of Peers, that was expected; but, after the First reading, rested many days; and being then read the Second time, depended long at the Committee: few men believing, upon consideration of the Affections and Parts of the Several Lords, that of the Fourscore, who were present at the Trial, above Twenty would ever have Consented to that Act: Besides, it was not believ'd, now the Formal Trial and way of Judicature was waved, the Bishops would so Stupidly (to say no worse) Exclude themselves from Voting in a Law which was to be an Act of Parliament.

BUT there happen'd about that time Two Accidents, which (though not Then, or it may be Since, taken notice of, as of any moment or relation to that business) contributed strangely to the Passing that Bill; and so to the Fate of that great Person. The First, a Discovery of some Meetings, and Discourses, between some Persons of near Relation to his Majesty's Service, and some Officers of the Army, about

Two Accidents that contributed much towards Passing the Bill against the Earl of Strafford:

the High Proceedings of the Parliament; and of ſome Expedients, that might reduce them to a Better temper; which were no ſooner Intimated to ſome of the great Managers, than the whole was form'd and ſhaped into "a Formidable, "and Bloody Deſign againſt the Parliament. The Second, the ſuddain Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. Of both which, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomewhat; that it may be obſerv'd, from how little Accidents, and ſmall Circumſtances, by the Art and Induſtry of Thoſe men, the Greateſt Matters have flow'd, towards the Confuſion we have ſince labour'd under.

The First a Diſcovery of ſome Correſpondences between the Court and ſome Principal Officers of the Engliſh *Army.*

SOME Principal Officers of the Army, who were Members of the Houſe of Commons, and had been Careſs'd, both before and after the beginning of the Parliament, by the moſt popular Agents of both Houſes; and had in truth Contributed more to Their Deſigns, than was agreeable to their Duty, and the Truſt repoſed in them by the King; found themſelves now not ſo particularly conſider'd as they expected, by that Party; and their Credit in other places, and particularly in the Army, to be leſſen'd: for that there was viſibly much more care taken for the Supply of the *Scotiſh* Army, than of the King's; inſomuch, that ſometimes Money that was aſſign'd and paid for the uſe of the King's Army, was again taken away, and diſpoſed to the Other: and yet, that the Parliament much preſumed, and depended, upon their Intereſt in, and Power to diſpoſe, the Affections of that Army.

THEREFORE to redeem what had been done amiſs, and to ingratiate themſelves in his Majeſty's favour, they bethought themſelves how to diſpoſe, or at leaſt to pretend that they would diſpoſe, the Army, to ſome ſuch expreſſions of Duty and Loyalty towards the King, as might take away all hope from other men, that it might be applied to His diſſervice: and to that purpoſe, they had Conference, and Communication, with ſome Servants of a more immediate truſt and relation to both their Majeſties; through whom they might convey their Intentions, and Devotions to the King, and again receive his Royal Pleaſure, and Direction, how they ſhould demean themſelves. For ought I could ever obſerve, by what was afterwards reported in the Houſe of Commons; or could learn, from Thoſe who were moſt Converſant with all the Secrets of That deſign; there was never the leaſt intention of working farther upon the Affections of the Army, than to preſerve them from being Corrupted, or made uſe of, for the Impoſing Unjuſt and Unreaſonable things upon the King: and all that the King ever ſo much as Conſented ſhould be done by Them, was, that as moſt Counties in *England*, or rather, the Factious and Seditious perſons in moſt Counties, had been induced to

Frame

Frame and Subſcribe Petitions to the Parliament, againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, with other Clauſes, Scandalous to the Government of the State too; So the Officers of the Army too, ſhould Subſcribe this following Petition; which was brought Ingroſs'd to his Majeſty for his Approbation, before they would preſume to recommend it to any for their Subſcription.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty; the Lords Spiritual, and Temporal; the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, now aſſembled in the High Court of Parliament.

The Petition intended to be Subſcrib'd by the Officers.

"The humble Petition of the Officers and Soldiers of the "Army,

"HUMBLY ſheweth, That although our Wants have been "very Preſſing, and the Burthen we are become unto theſe "Parts (by reaſon of thoſe Wants) very Grievous unto us; "yet ſo have we demean'd our ſelves, that your Majeſty's "great and weighty Affairs, in this preſent Parliament, have "hitherto receiv'd no interruption, by any Complaint, either "from us, or againſt us; a Temper not uſual in Armies; "eſpecially in one Deſtitute not only of Pay, but alſo of "Martial Diſcipline, and many of its Principal Officers; that "we cannot but attribute it to a particular Bleſſing of Al-"mighty God, on our moſt Hearty Affections and Zeal to "the Common Good, in the happy Succeſs of this Parlia-"ment; to which, as we ſhould have been ready hourly to "contribute our deareſt Blood, ſo now that it hath pleaſed "God to manifeſt his Bleſſing ſo evidently therein, we can-"not but acknowledge it with Thankfulneſs; as likewiſe his "great Mercy, in that he hath inclin'd your Majeſty's Royal "Heart ſo to cooperate with the Wiſdom of the Parliament, "as to effect ſo great and happy a Reformation upon the "former Diſtemper of this Church and Common-wealth: "as Firſt, in your Majeſty's gracious condeſcending to the "many important demands of our Neighbours of the *Scotiſh* "Nation; Secondly, in granting ſo free a courſe of Juſtice "againſt all Delinquents of what Quality ſoever; Thirdly, "in the removal of all thoſe Grievances, wherewith the Sub-"jects did conceive either their Liberty of Perſons, Property, "or Eſtate, or freedom of Conſcience, prejudiced; And laſtly, "in the greateſt pledge of Security that ever the Subjects of "*England* receiv'd from their Soveraign, the Bill of Trien-"nial Parliament.

"THESE things ſo graciouſly accorded unto by your "Majeſty, without bargain or compenſation, as they are more

"than expectation or hope could extend unto, ſo now cer-
"tainly they are ſuch, as all Loyal Hearts ought to acquieſce
"in with thankfulneſs; which we do with all humility, and
"do at this time, with as much earneſtneſs as any, pray, and
"wiſh, that the Kingdom may be ſettled in Peace and Quiet-
"neſs, and that all Men may, at their own Homes, enjoy the
"bleſſed Fruits of Your Wiſdom and Juſtice.

"BUT it may pleaſe your Excellent Majeſty, and this High
"Court of Parliament, to give us leave, with grief and an-
"guiſh of Heart, to repreſent unto you, that we hear that
"there are certain Perſons Stirring and Pragmatical, Who, in-
"ſtead of rendring Glory to God, Thanks to your Majeſty,
"and Acknowledgement to the Parliament, remain yet as Un-
"ſatisfied and Mutinous as ever; Who, whilſt all the reſt of
"the Kingdom are arriv'd even beyond their wiſhes, are
"daily forging new and unreaſonable Demands; Who, whilſt
"all Men of Reaſon, Loyalty, and Moderation, are thinking
"how they may provide for your Majeſty's Honour and
"Plenty, in return of ſo many Graces to the Subject, are
"ſtill attempting new Diminutions of your Majeſty's juſt Re-
"galities, which muſt ever be no leſs dear to all honeſt Men,
"than our own Freedoms; In fine, Men of ſuch Turbulent
"Spirits, as are ready to Sacrifice the honour and welfare of
"the whole Kingdom to their private fancies, whom no-
"thing elſe than a Subverſion of the whole frame of Govern-
"ment will ſatisfy: far be it from Our thoughts to believe,
"that the Violence and Unreaſonableneſs of ſuch kind of
"Perſons, can have any Influence upon the Prudence and Ju-
"ſtice of the Parliament. But that which begets the Trou-
"ble and Diſquiet of our Loyal Hearts, at this preſent, is,
"that we hear thoſe ill affected Perſons, are back'd in their
"Violence, by the Multitude and the Power of raiſing Tu-
"mults; that Thouſands flock at Their call, and beſet the
"Parliament, and *White-Hall* it ſelf; not only to the Preju-
"dice of that Freedom which is neceſſary to great Councils
"and Judicatories, but poſſibly to ſome Perſonal Danger of
"your Sacred Majeſty, and the Peers.

"THE vaſt Conſequence of theſe Perſons Malignity, and
"of the Licentiouſneſs of thoſe Multitudes that follow them,
"conſider'd, in moſt deep care and zealous Affection for the
"Safety of your Sacred Majeſty, and the Parliament; Our
"humble Petition is, That in your Wiſdom, you would be
"pleaſed to remove ſuch Dangers, by Puniſhing the Ring-
"leaders of theſe Tumults, that your Majeſty and the Par-
"liament may be ſecur'd from ſuch Inſolencies hereafter. For
"the Suppreſſing of which, in all Humility We offer our
"ſelves to wait upon you (if you pleaſe) hoping We ſhall

"appear

"appear as considerable in the way of Defence, to our Gra-
"cious Soveraign, the Parliament, our Religion, and the
"Establish'd Laws of the Kingdom, as what Number soever
"shall audaciously presume to Violate them: So shall We,
"by the Wisdom of your Majesty and the Parliament, not
"only be Vindicated from Precedent Innovations, but be se-
"cur'd from the Future, that are threaten'd, and likely to
"produce more dangerous effects than the former.

"And we shall pray, *&c.*

The true matter of Fact concerning that Petition.

His Majesty having read this Petition, and conceiving that the Authority of the Army might seem of as great Importance for the good reception of so much Reason and Justice, as the Subscription of a Rabble had been alledg'd often to be, for the Countenance of what in truth was Mutinous and Seditious, said, "That He approv'd well enough of it, "and was content that it might be Subscribed by the Of-"ficers of the Army, if they desir'd it. The Officer who pre-sented the Draught to his Majesty, told him "that very few "of the Army had yet seen it: and that it would be a great "Countenance to it, if, when it was carried to the Principal "Officers who were first to Sign it, any evidence might be "given to them, that it had pass'd his Majesty's Approbation; "otherwise they might possibly make scruple for fear of of-"fending Him. Thereupon, his Majesty took a Pen, and Writ at the bottom of the Petition *C. R.* as a token that He had perused and allow'd it: and so the Petition was carried down into the Country where the Army lay, and was Sign'd by some Officers; but was suddainly quash'd, and no more heard of, till the Discovery of the pretended Plot: of which more in its place.

The Meetings continuing, between those Officers of the Army and some Servants of his Majesty's, to the Ends aforesaid; Others of the Army, who had express'd very brisk Resolutions towards the Service, and were of eminent Command and Authority with the Soldiers, were by special direction introduced into those Councils (all Persons obliging themselves by an Oath of Secrecy, not to Communicate any thing that should pass amongst them) for the better executing what should be agreed.

At the first meeting, one of the Persons that was so introduced, after he had heard the calm Propositions of the rest, and that "Their design was, only to observe and de-"fend the Laws, that neither the Arguments of the *Scots*, "nor the Reputation of their Army, might compel the King "to Consent to the Alteration of the Government of the

"Church, nor to remove the Biſhops out of the Houſe of "Peers, which would, in a great degree, produce an Altera- "tion; or the Power of any Diſcontented Perſons, by their "Tumultuary Petitions, impoſe upon, or diminiſh, the juſt "Legal Power of the King, told them, "Thoſe Reſolutions "would produce very little effects for his Majeſty's Service; "That there was but one way to do his Majeſty notable "Service, which was by bringing up the Army preſently to "*London*, which would ſo Awe the Parliament, that they "would do any thing the King Commanded. There was not (as I have been credibly inform'd) a Man in the company that did not perfectly abhor (or ſeem'd ſo to do) that odious Propoſition; but contented themſelves with making ſuch Objections againſt it, as render'd it Ridiculous and Unpracticable: and ſo the Meeting, for that time diſſolv'd.

WHETHER the Perſon that propoſed this deſperate advice, did it only as a Bait to draw an opinion from other Men (for he had a perfect diſlike and malice to ſome of the company) or whether the Diſdain to ſee his Counſel rejected, and the Fear that it might be diſcover'd to his diſadvantage, wrought upon him, I know not; But the ſame, or the next day, He diſcover'd all, and more than had paſs'd, to ſome of Thoſe who ſeem'd to take moſt care for the Publick; intimated to them, "how He was ſtartled with the horrour of the "deſign, and how faithfully He reſolv'd to ſerve the Com- "mon-wealth, or to loſe his Life in the attempt: Yet, at the ſame time, acted his part at Court, with all poſſible demonſtration of Abhorring the Proceedings of the Parliament, to that degree, that he offer'd, "to undertake with a Crew of "Officers and good Fellows (who, he ſaid, were at his diſ- "poſal) to Reſcue the Earl of *Strafford* from the Lieutenant "of the Tower, as he ſhould bring him to his Trial, and ſo to "enable him to make an eſcape into Forreign parts.

THE Diſcovery being thus made, to the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Kimbolton*, and no doubt by Them communicated to their chief Aſſociates; as dangerous as the Deſign was afterwards alledg'd to be, it was not Publiſh'd in three Months after to the Houſes, againſt whom the Deſign was intended; nor till long after the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*: who, no doubt, rather deſir'd to bind up thoſe Wounds which were made, than to make them wider, by entertaining new Jealouſies between King and People; and would not conſent to the extending and extorting Concluſions, which did not naturally flow from the Premiſes; without which, this ſo uſeful a Treaſon to them, could not have been made up.

BUT as They thought not fit (as I ſaid before) to publiſh

this

this whole Diſcovery till near three Months after, ſo they made extraordinary Uſe of it by Parts, from the inſtant that they receiv'd the Secret; it being always their cuſtom, when they found the heat and diſtemper of the Houſe (which they endeavour'd to keep up, by the ſharp mention and remembrance of former Grievances and Preſſures) in any degree allay'd, by ſome gracious Act, or gracious Profeſſion of the King's, to warm and inflame them again with a Diſcovery, or promiſe of a Diſcovery, of ſome notable Plot, and Conſpiracy againſt Themſelves, "to Diſſolve the Parliament "by the Papiſts: or ſome other way, in which they would be ſure that ſomewhat always ſhould reflect upon the Court. Thus they were ſometimes informing, "of great multitudes "of Papiſts gathering together in *Lancaſhire*; then of ſecret "Meetings in Caves; and under ground in *Surrey*; Letters "from beyond Sea, of great proviſions of Armes making "There for the Catholicks of *England*; and the like; which upon Examination always Vaniſh'd: but for the time (and they were always applied in uſeful articles of Time) ſerv'd to tranſport Common minds with Fears and Apprehenſions, and ſo induced them to comply in ſenſe with Thoſe, who were like ſooneſt to find Remedies for thoſe Diſeaſes which none but themſelves could diſcover. And in this Progreſs, there ſometimes happen'd ſtrange Accidents for the confirmation of their credit.

WHILST they were full of Clamour againſt the Papiſts, upon the inſtances of ſome Inſolences and Indiſcretions committed by them, during the late intervals of Parliament (and mention'd before) eſpecially upon a great Alacrity expreſs'd, and Contribution raiſing, the year before, for advancing the War with *Scotland*; an Order was made, "that the Juſtices "of Peace of *Weſtminſter* ſhould carefully examine, what "Strangers were Lodg'd within their Juriſdiction; and that "they ſhould adminiſter the Oaths of Allegiance and Supre-"macy to all ſuſpected for Recuſancy, and proceed according "to thoſe Statutes. An Afternoon being appointed for that Service, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and many Perſons warn'd to appear there, amongſt the reſt one . . . . . *James*, a Papiſt, appear'd, and being preſs'd by Mr *Hayward*, a Juſtice of Peace, to take the Oaths, ſuddainly drew out his Knife, and Stabb'd him; with ſome Reproachful words, "for Perſecuting poor "Catholicks. This ſtrange, unheard of Outrage, upon the Perſon of a Miniſter of Juſtice executing his Office by an Order of Parliament, Startled all Men; the old Man Sinking with the hurt, though he died not of it. And though, for ought I could ever hear, it proceeded only from the rage of a ſullen Varlet (formerly ſuſpected to be Crazed in his underſtanding)

derſtanding) without the leaſt Confederacy or Combination with any other; Yet it was a great Countenance to Thoſe, who were before thought over Apprehenſive and Inquiſitive into Dangers; and made many believe it rather a Deſign of all the Papiſts of *England*, than a Deſperate Act of one Man, who could never have been induced to it, if he had not been promiſed Aſſiſtance by the reſt.

The ill Uſe made of it in the Houſe of Commons.

THE Diſcovery of the Plot concerning the Army, being made about the middle of *April*, which was the end of the Earl of *Strafford*'s Trial, they for the preſent made no farther uſe of it than might contribute to their Ends in that buſineſs; reſerving the reſt (as was ſaid before) to be applied in more neceſſary Seaſons: Therefore, about the time that the Bill of Attainder was preferr'd, that no interpoſition from the Court might diſcountenance or hinder that great work, Mr *Pym* one day inform'd the Houſe of Commons, "That "He had great cauſe to fear, there was at that time as deſpe- "rate a Deſign and Conſpiracy againſt the Parliament, as had "been in any Age; and he was in doubt, Perſons of great "Quality and Credit at Court, had their hands in it: That "ſeveral Officers had been treated with in *London* to raiſe "Men, under pretence that they ſhould go to *Portugal*; but "that the *Portugal* Embaſſadour, being conferr'd with about "it, profeſs'd, that He knew nothing of it; and that no Per- "ſon had any Authority or Promiſe from Him to that purpoſe (And it is true, there had been ſome idle Diſcourſes in a Tavern between ſome Officers, about raiſing Men for *Portugal*, which was immediately carried to Mr *Pym*; as all Tavern and Ordinary diſcourſes were) "That for the preſent, He "might not acquaint them with all Particulars, which might "hinder their further Diſcovery; only deſir'd, that a Meſ- "ſage might be ſent to the Lords, to deſire them to appoint "a Committee to Examine ſuch Witneſſes as ſhould be pro- "duced, for the Diſcovery of a Plot againſt the Parliament; "and that in the mean time, They would joyn in a Meſſage "to the King, to deſire his Majeſty that he would not, for "ſome few days, grant any Paſs to any of his Servants to go "beyond the Seas; ſaying, that He believ'd, ſome Men's Con- "ſciences would tempt them to make an Eſcape, when they "heard of this Examination.

SUCH a Committee was appointed to Examine, and ſuch a Meſſage ſent to his Majeſty, as was deſir'd. But in the mean time, ſome Perſons who had been at the Tavern, and talk'd of raiſing Men for *Portugal*; and Others who had been at the Conference before mention'd, where the Propoſition was for bringing up the Army; finding that what had paſs'd ſo privately, and amongſt Themſelves, had been diſcover'd;

and

and was like to paſs a very Severe Inquiſition, from Them who made Gloſſes and Comments as they pleaſed, upon what other Men ſpoke or did; and not knowing how much more than the Truth had been inform'd, or what Interpretation ſhould be made of that which was the Truth; reſolv'd not to truſt themſelves with ſuch Judges (whoſe formality was firſt to Impriſon, and after, at their leiſure, to Examine) and ſo fled into *France*.

THIS was no ſooner known and publiſh'd, than it gave great Credit and Reputation to Mr *Pym's* Vigilancy and Activity; for it now appear'd, there was ſome notable Miſchief intended, upon the Diſcovery whereof, ſuch Eminent Men were fled. And in this Diſorder and Trouble of mind, Men fearing according as they were directed, the Bill of Attainder found the eaſier paſſage in the Houſe of Commons.

HAVING gotten thus much ground; and the Bill then depending (and like long to depend) with the Lords; Mr *Pym* told them in the Houſe of Commons, "that it appear'd by "the flight of ſuch Conſiderable Perſons, that what he had "before imparted to them was of moment, and that his Fears "were not groundleſs; that it concern'd Their Service, that "he ſhould not yet impart the whole matter to them, ſince "the Danger was prevented, which they ſhould ſhortly un-"derſtand at large: in the mean time, he did aſſure them, "That God had miraculouſly Preſerv'd them from a moſt "Prodigious Conſpiracy, in which all their Privileges and "Liberties ſhould have been ſwallow'd up: That though this "Attempt was Diſappointed, yet he fear'd there might be "ſome new device; and therefore He propoſed, for the bet-"ter evidence of their Union and Unanimity (which would "be the greateſt Diſcouragement to all who wiſh'd ill to "them) that ſome Proteſtation might be enter'd into by the "Members of both Houſes, for the Defence of their Privi-"leges, and the Performance of thoſe Duties to God and the "King, which they were oblig'd to, as good Chriſtians and "good Subjects; and that a Committee might be appointed "ſpeedily to withdraw, and prepare ſuch a Proteſtation.

THE Motion was entertain'd with general Approbation; inſomuch as they who were apprehenſive enough of the ill Deſigns of thoſe who advanced This, and of the ill Conſequence of ſuch Voluntary Proteſtations, thought fit rather to watch the Matter and Words, than to oppoſe the Thing it ſelf; which, it was evident, it was to no purpoſe to do: and therefore they were well contented with the naming ſuch Perſons for the Committee, as were not like to ſubmit to any unlawful or inconvenient Obligation. This was urged as of ſuch Conſequence, that the Doors were lock'd, and no Per-

ſons

sons suffer'd to go out of the House, till this should be concluded. After a long Debate, these words were agreed upon, and offer'd to the House for the Protestation.

Upon this occasion a Protestation is taken by both Houses.

"I *A. B.* do, in the presence of Almighty God, Promise, "Vow, and Protest, to Maintain and Defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the true "Reform'd Protestant Religion, express'd in the Doctrine "of the Church of *England*, against all Popery and Popish "Innovations within this Realm, contrary to the same "Doctrine; and, according to the Duty of my Allegiance, "his Majesty's Royal Person, Honour, and Estate; as also, "the Power and Privileges of Parliament; the lawful "Rights and Liberties of the Subject; and every Person "that maketh this Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do "in the lawful pursuance of the same: And to my power, "and as far as lawfully I may, I will Oppose, and, by all "good ways and means, endeavour to bring to condign "Punishment, all such, as shall either by Force, Practice, "Counsels, Plots, Conspiracies, or otherwise, do any thing "to the Contrary of any thing in this present Protestation "contain'd: And further, that I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to Preserve the Union and "Peace between the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, "and *Ireland*; and neither for hope, fear, nor other Respect, shall Relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Protestation.

THIS was immediately taken by the Speaker of the House of Commons, and by all the Members then present; and sent up to the Lords, who all likewise took the same, except the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Lord *Roberts*, who positively refused it, alledging, "There was no Law that enjoin'd it, "and the Consequence of such Voluntary Engagements, "might produce Effects that were not then intended: Which without doubt was very wisely consider'd; and had not been press'd in the House of Commons, for two Reasons: It being visibly impossible to Dissuade the thing, the House being awaken'd by the discourse, mention'd before, of a Plot against the Parliament, the Poyson of which, this Sovereign Antidote was to expel and discover; But especially, for that well affected Persons, who were jealous of no other Design than the Alteration of the Government of the Church, thought they had oblig'd those rigid Reformers from any such Attempt, when they had once bound themselves "to Main-"tain and Defend the Protestant Religion express'd in the "Doctrine of the Church of *England*; there being no other

Scheme

Scheme of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, than the Thirty nine Articles, of which one is, "to preſerve the Go-"vernment of the Church by Biſhops.

WHEREAS the other Party was abundantly gratified, with having an Oath of their Own making, to entangle the People (ſo like a Covenant, by which ſuch admirable things had been compaſs'd by their Neighbours) and upon which they could make what Gloſs they pleaſed, when they had occaſion; as they did within two days after: For the Proteſtation being taken on *Monday* the Third of *May*, the *Wedneſday* following, ſome of their own Party took occaſion to inform the Houſe, "that it was apprehended by many well affected "Perſons abroad, who were of notable and exemplary de-"votions to the Parliament, That if they ſhould take that "Proteſtation, they ſhould thereby engage themſelves for "the Defence of Biſhops, which in their Conſcience they "could not do; and which, they hoped, the Houſe did not "intend to oblige them to; Whereupon, without any great oppoſition (the Houſe being thin; and they who were of another opinion, believing this Artifice would, to all ſober men, appear very Ridiculous) this enſuing Order was made.

The Explanation of the Proteſtation, by an Order of the Houſe of Commons.

"WHEREAS ſome Doubts have been rais'd, by ſeveral "Perſons out of this Houſe, concerning the meaning of theſe "words contain'd in the Proteſtation lately made by the Mem-"bers of this Houſe [*viz.* The true Reform'd Proteſtant "Religion, expreſs'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *Eng-*"*land*, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations within "this Realm, contrary to the ſame Doctrine] This Houſe "doth declare, That by thoſe words, was and is meant, only "the Publick Doctrine profeſs'd in the ſaid Church, ſo far as "it is oppoſite to Popery and Popiſh Innovations; and that "the ſaid words are not to be extended to the maintaining "of any Form of Worſhip, Diſcipline, or Government, nor "of any Rites, or Ceremonies, of the ſaid Church of *England*.

THIS Explanation being thus procured in the Houſe of Commons, without ever adviſing with the Houſe of Peers (who had likewiſe taken the ſame Proteſtation) and, in truth, ſo contrary to the intentions of moſt that took it; They or-der'd, "that the Proteſtation, together with this Explanation, "ſhould be Printed and Publiſh'd; and that the Knights "and Burgeſſes ſhould ſend Copies thereof to the Counties "and Burroughs for which they ſerv'd; and that they ſhould "intimate unto the People, with what Willingneſs all the "Members of that Houſe made that Proteſtation; and that "they ſhould further ſignify, that as They did Juſtify the

"taking

"taking it Themſelves, ſo they could not but Approve it "in All ſuch as ſhould take it. Upon which Declaration, the Emiſſaries of their Clergy cauſed the ſame to be taken in *London*, and the Parts adjacent, within very few days after the Publiſhing. And for Their better Encouragement (though their Zeal would not attend ſuch Formalities) a Bill was prepared, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to "the Lords, to Compel all the Subjects to take that Prote- "ſtation. What the Succeſs of that Bill was; and what Uſe was afterwards made of this Proteſtation (which was Then thought ſo harmleſs a thing) and particularly, what Influence it had upon the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, ſhall be remembered in its proper place.

A Bill paſs'd there, to compel all the Subjects to take it.

THE other Accident that fell out during the time that the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford* was agitated, and by which He receiv'd much Prejudice, was the Death of the Earl of *Bedford*. This Lord was the greateſt Perſon of Intereſt in all the popular Party, being of the beſt Eſtate, and beſt Underſtanding, of the whole Number; and therefore moſt like to Govern the Reſt. He was beſides, of great Civility, and of much more good Nature than any of the Other. And therefore the King reſolving to do his buſineſs with that Party by Him, reſolv'd to make him Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, in the place of the Biſhop of *London*; who was as willing to lay down the Office, as any body was to take it up. And to gratify him the more, at His deſire, intended to make Mr *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had done Mr *Saint-John* his Sollicitor General (all which hath been touch'd before) as alſo, that Mr *Hollis* was to be Secretary of State, the Lord *Say* Maſter of the Wards, and the Lord *Kimbolton* to be Lord Privy-Seal after the death of his Father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the Prince, and to have Offices when they fell.

The other Accident that contributed towards the Bill of Attainder, was the Death of the Earl of Bedford.

THE Earl of *Bedford* ſecretly undertook to his Majeſty, that the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life ſhould be preſerv'd; and to procure His Revenue to be ſettled, as amply as any of his Progenitors; the which he intended ſo really, that, to My knowledge, he had it in deſign to endeavour to obtain an Act for the ſetting up the Exciſe in *England*, as the only natural means to advance the King's profit. He fell Sick, within a week after the Bill of Attainder was ſent up to the Lords Houſe; and Died ſhortly after, much afflicted with the Paſſion and Fury which he perceiv'd his Party inclined to, inſomuch as he declared, to ſome of near truſt to him, "that "he fear'd, the Rage and Madneſs of this Parliament, would "bring more Prejudice and Miſchief to the Kingdom than it "had ever ſuſtain'd by the long Intermiſſion of Parliaments.

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He was a wiſe man, and would have propoſed and adviſed Moderate courſes; but was not incapable, for want of Reſolution, of being carried into Violent ones, if His advice were not ſubmitted to: and therefore many, who knew him well, thought his Death not unſeaſonable, as well to his Fame, as his Fortune; and that it reſcued him as well from ſome poſſible Guilt, as from thoſe viſible Misfortunes, which men of all Conditions have Since undergone.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Bedford* was dead, the Lord *Say* (hoping to receive the reward of the Treaſurer-ſhip) ſucceeded him in his undertaking, and faithfully promiſed the King, "that he ſhould not be preſs'd in the matter of the "Earl of *Strafford*'s Life; and under that promiſe got credit enough, to perſwade his Majeſty to whatſoever He ſaid was neceſſary to that buſineſs. And thereupon, when the Bill was depending with the Lords, and when there was little ſuſpicion that it would Paſs, though the Houſe of Commons every day by Meſſages endeavour'd to quicken them, He perſwaded the King "to go to the Houſe of Peers, and ac- "cording to cuſtom to ſend for the Houſe of Commons, and "then to declare himſelf, That he could not, with the ſafety "of a good Conſcience, ever give his Conſent to the Bill "that was there depending before them concerning the Earl "of *Strafford*, if it ſhould be brought to him, becauſe he was "not ſatisfied in the point of Treaſon: But He was ſo fully "ſatisfied that the Earl was unfit ever to ſerve him more, "in any condition of Employment, that he would joyn with "them in any Act, to make him utterly incapable of ever "bearing Office, or having any other employment in any of "his Majeſty's Dominions: which he hoped would ſatisfy "them.

THIS Advice, upon the Confidence of the giver, the King reſolv'd to follow: But when his Reſolution was imparted to the Earl, He immediately ſent his Brother to him, beſeeching his Majeſty "by no means to take that way, for "that he was moſt aſſured it would prove very pernicious "to him; and therefore deſired, he might depend upon the "Honour and Conſcience of the Peers, without his Majeſty's "interpoſition. The King told his Brother, "that he had "taken that Reſolution by the advice of his beſt Friends; "but ſince he liked it not, he would decline it. The next Morning the Lord *Say* came again to him, and finding his Majeſty alter'd in his intention, told him, "If he took that "courſe he adviſed him, he was ſure it would prevail; but "if he declined it, He could not promiſe his Majeſty what "would be the iſſue, and ſhould hold himſelf abſolutely diſ- "engaged from any undertaking. The King obſerving his

Poſitive-

Positiveness, and conceiving his intentions to be very sincere, suffer'd himself to be guided by him; and went immediately to the House, and said as the other had advised. Whether that Lord did in truth believe the discovery of his Majesty's Conscience in that manner, would produce the effect he foretold; or whether he advised it Treacherously, to bring on those inconveniencies which afterwards happen'd; I know not: But many who believ'd his Will to be much worse than his Understanding, had the Uncharitableness to think, that he intended to betray his Master, and to put the ruin of the Earl out of question.

THE event proved very fatal; for the King no sooner return'd from the House, than the House of Commons, in great passion and fury, declared this last act of his Majesty's, to be "the most unparallel'd Breach of Privilege, that had ever "happen'd; That if his Majesty might take notice what Bills "were passing in either House, and declare his Own opinion, "it was to forejudge Their Counsels, and they should not "be able to supply the Common-wealth with wholesome "Laws, suitable to the Diseases it labour'd under; That this "was the greatest Obstruction of Justice, that could be ima-"gin'd; That they and whosoever had taken the late Pro-"testation, were bound to maintain the privileges of Parlia-"ment, which were now too grosly invaded and violated: with many sharp discourses to that purpose.

Tumults about the House of Peers.

THE next day, great multitudes of People came down to *Westminster*, and crowded about the House of Peers, exclaiming with great Outcries, "that they would have Justice; and publickly reading the Names of those who had dissented from that Bill in the House of Commons, as Enemies to their Country; and as any Lord pass'd by, call'd, *Justice, Justice*; and with great rudeness and insolence, pressing upon, and thrusting, those Lords whom they suspected not to favour that Bill; professing aloud, "That they would be govern'd "and disposed by the Honourable House of Commons, and "would defend their Privileges according to their late Pro-"testation. These unheard of acts of Insolence and Sedition continued so many days, till many Lords grew so really apprehensive of having their Brains beaten out, that they absented themselves from the House; and Others, finding what Seconds the House of Commons was like to have to compass whatever they desired, changed their minds; and so in an Afternoon, when of the Fourscore who had been present at the Trial, there were only six and forty Lords in the House (the good People still crying at the doors for Justice) they put the Bill to the question, and eleven Lords only dissenting, it pass'd that House, and was ready for the King's assent.

The Bill of Attainder pass'd the House of Lords.

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THE King continued as Reſolv'd as ever, Not to give his conſent. The ſame Oratory then attended him at *White-Hall*, which had prevail'd at *Weſtminſter*; and a Rabble of many thouſand people beſieged that place, crying out, *Juſtice, Juſtice*; *that they would have Juſtice*; not without great and inſolent Threats and Expreſſions, what they would do, if it were not ſpeedily granted. The Privy-Council was call'd together, to adviſe what courſe was to be taken to Suppreſs theſe Traiterous Riots. Inſtead of conſidering how to Reſcue their Maſter's Honour and his Conſcience from the Infamous Violence and Conſtraint, they preſs the King to paſs the Bill of Attainder, ſaying, "there was no other way "to preſerve Himſelf and his Poſterity than by ſo doing; "and therefore that he ought to be more tender of the ſafety "of the Kingdom, than of any One Perſon how Innocent "ſoever: not one Counſellor interpoſing his opinion to ſupport his Maſter's Magnanimity and Innocence: They who were of that mind, either ſuppreſſing their thoughts through fear, upon the new Doctrine eſtabliſh'd then by the new Counſellors, "that no man ought to preſume to adviſe any "thing in that place contrary to the ſenſe of both Houſes; others ſadly believing, the Force and Violence offer'd to the King, would be, before God and Man, a juſt excuſe for whatſoever he ſhould do.

Tumults about White-Hall.

The Privy-Council and ſome of the Biſhops adviſe the King to paſs the Bill.

HIS Majeſty told them, "That what had been propoſed "to him to do, was directly contrary to his Conſcience, and "that being ſo, he was ſure they would not perſwade him to "it, though themſelves were never ſo well ſatisfied. To that point, they deſired him "to confer with his Biſhops, who, "they made no queſtion, would better inform his Conſcience. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* was at hand; who, to his Argument of Conſcience, told him, "That there was a Private "and a Publick Conſcience; that his publick Conſcience as "a King, might not only diſpenſe with, but oblige him to "do that which was againſt his private Conſcience as a Man: "and that the Queſtion was not, Whether He ſhould Save "the Earl of *Strafford*, but, whether he ſhould periſh with "him: That the Conſcience of a King to preſerve his King-"dom, the Conſcience of a Husband to preſerve his Wife, "the Conſcience of a Father to preſerve his Children (all "which were now in danger) weigh'd down abundantly all "the conſiderations the Conſcience of a Maſter or a Friend "could ſuggeſt to him, for the preſervation of a Friend, or "Servant. And by ſuch Unprelatical, Ignominious Arguments, in plain terms adviſed him, "even for Conſcience "ſake, to paſs that act.

THOUGH this Biſhop acted His part with more prodigi-

ous Boldneſs and Impiety, Others of the ſame Function (for whoſe Learning and Sincerity the King and the World had greater reverence) did not what might have been expected from their Calling or their Truſt; but at leaſt forbore to fortify and confirm a Conſcience, upon the courage and piety of which, the ſecurity of their Perſons and their Order, did abſolutely, under God, depend.

DURING theſe perplexities, the Earl of *Strafford*, taking notice of the ſtraits the King was in, the Rage of the People ſtill increaſing (from whence he might expect a certain Outrage and Ruin, how conſtant ſoever the King continued to him; and it may be, knowing of an Undertaking (for ſuch an Undertaking there was) by a great Perſon, who had then a Command in the Tower, "that if the King refuſed to paſs "the Bill, to free the Kingdom from the hazard it ſeem'd to "be in, He would cauſe his Head to be ſtricken off in the "Tower) writ a moſt pathetical Letter to the King, full of acknowledgement of his Favours; but lively repreſenting "the Dangers, which threatned Himſelf and his Poſterity, "by the King's perſevering in thoſe Favours; and therefore by many Arguments conjuring him "no longer to defer his "Aſſent to the Bill, that ſo his Death might free the King-"dom from the many troubles it apprehended.

The Earl of Strafford *himſelf writes to his Majeſty to paſs it.*

THE delivery of this Letter being quickly known, new Arguments were applied; "that this free conſent of his own, "clearly abſolv'd the King from any ſcruple that could re-"main with him; and ſo in the end they extorted from him, to ſign a Commiſſion to ſome Lords to paſs the Bill: which was as valid as if he had paſs'd it himſelf; though they comforted him even with that circumſtance, "that His own hand "was not in it.

The King ſigns a Commiſſion for the paſſing it.

IT may eaſily be ſaid, that the Freedom of the Parliament, and his own Negative voice, being thus barbarouſly invaded, if his Majeſty had, inſtead of paſſing that Act, come to the Houſe and Diſſolv'd the Parliament; or if he had withdrawn himſelf from that Seditious City, and put himſelf in the head of his own Army; much of the miſchief, which hath ſince happen'd, would have been prevented. But whoever truly conſiders the ſtate of Affairs at that time; the Prevalency of that Faction in both Houſes; the Rage and Fury of the People; the Uſe that was made by the Schiſmatical Preachers (by whom the Orthodox were generally ſilenced) of the late Proteſtation, in their Pulpits; the Fears and Jealouſies they had infuſed into the minds of many ſober men, upon the diſcourſe of the late Plot; the Conſtitution of the Council-Table, that there was ſcarce an honeſt man durſt ſpeak his Conſcience to the King, for fear of his Ruin; and

that

that Thoſe whom he thought moſt True to him, Betray'd him every hour, inſomuch as his whiſpers in his Bed-Chamber were inſtantly convey'd to Thoſe againſt whom thoſe Whiſpers were; ſo that he had very few men to whom he could breath his Conſcience and Complaints, that were not Suborn'd againſt him, or Averſe to his Opinions: That on the other ſide, if ſome Expedient were not ſpeedily found out, to Allay that Frantick Rage and Combination in the People, there was reaſon enough to believe, their Impious hands would be lifted up againſt his own Perſon, and (which he much more apprehended) againſt the Perſon of his Royal Conſort: and laſtly, that (beſides the difficulty of getting thither) he had no ground to be very confident of his Own Army: I ſay, Whoever ſadly Contemplates this, will find cauſe to confeſs, the Part which the King had to act, was not only harder than any Prince, but than any private Gentleman had been expoſed to; and that it is much eaſier, upon the Accidents and Occurrences which have Since happen'd, to determine what was not to have been done, than at that time to have foreſeen, by what means to have freed himſelf from the Labyrinth in which he was involv'd.

The Earl beheaded, May the 12th 1641.

ALL things being thus tranſacted, to conclude the Fate of this great Perſon, He was on the Twelfth day of *May* brought from the Tower of *London* (where he had been a Priſoner near ſix Months) to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; where, with a compoſed, undaunted Courage, he told the People, "He was come thither to ſatisfy them with his Head; "but that he much fear'd, the Reformation which was be-"gun in Blood, would not prove ſo fortunate to the King-"dom, as They expected, and he wiſh'd: and after great expreſſions "of his Devotion to the Church of *England*, and "the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſh'd by Law, and profeſs'd "in that Church; of his Loyalty to the King, and Affection "to the peace and welfare of the Kingdom; with marvellous tranquillity of mind, he deliver'd his Head to the Block, where it was ſever'd from his Body at a Blow. Many of the Standers by, who had not been over charitable to him in his Life, being much affected with the Courage and Chriſtianity of his Death.

THUS Fell the greateſt Subject in power, and little inferior to any in Fortune, that was at that time in any of the three Kingdoms; Who could well remember the time, when he led thoſe People, who then purſued him to his Grave. He was a man of great Parts, and extraordinary Endowments of Nature; not unadorn'd with ſome addition of Art and Learning, though that again was more improved and illuſtrated by the other; for he had a readineſs of Conception,

and ſharpneſs of Expreſſion, which made his Learning thought more than in truth it was. His firſt inclinations and addreſſes to the Court, were only to eſtabliſh his Greatneſs in the Country; where he apprehended ſome acts of Power from the Lord *Savile*, who had been his Rival always there, and of late had ſtrengthen'd himſelf by being made a Privy-Counſellor, and Officer at Court: but his firſt attempts were ſo proſperous, that he contented not himſelf with being ſecure from the Lord's power in the Country, but reſted not, till he had bereav'd his adverſary of all power and place in Court; and ſo ſent him down, a moſt Abject, Diſconſolate old man, to his Country, where he was to have the Superintendency over him too, by getting himſelf at that time made Lord Preſident of the North. Theſe Succeſſes, applied to a nature too Elate and Haughty of it ſelf, and a quicker progreſs into the greateſt Employments and Truſt, made him more tranſported with Diſdain of other men, and more Contemning the Forms of buſineſs, than happily he would have been, if he had met with ſome Interruptions in the beginning, and had paſs'd in a more leiſurely gradation to the Office of a States-man.

He was, no doubt, of great obſervation, and a piercing judgement, both in Things, and Perſons; but his too good skill in Perſons, made him judge the worſe of Things: for it was his Misfortune, to be in a time wherein very few wiſe men were equally employ'd with him; and ſcarce any (but the Lord *Coventry*, whoſe Truſt was more confined) whoſe Faculties and Abilities were equal to his: So that upon the matter he rely'd wholely upon himſelf; and diſcerning many Defects in moſt men, he too much neglected what they ſaid or did. Of all his Paſſions, his Pride was moſt predominant: which a moderate exerciſe of ill Fortune might have corrected and reform'd; and which was by the hand of Heaven ſtrangely Puniſh'd, by bringing his Deſtruction upon him by Two things that he moſt deſpiſed, the People and Sr *Harry Vane*. In a word, the Epitaph which *Plutarch* records that *Sylla* wrote for himſelf, may not be unfitly applied to him, "That no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to "his Friends, or in doing Miſchief to his Enemies; for his acts of both kinds were moſt notorious.

At the ſame time with the Bill of Attainder paſs'd the Act for the continuing this Parliament.

Together with that of Attainder of the Earl of *Straford*, another Bill was paſs'd by the King, of almoſt as Fatal a Conſequence both to the King and Kingdom, as that was to the Earl, "the Act for the perpetual Parliament; as it is ſince call'd.

The vaſt Charge of the two Armies, was no other way ſupplied (for I have told you before the reaſon why they were

were ſo ſlow in granting of Subſidies) than by borrowing great Sums of Money from the City or Citizens of *London*, upon the Credit of particular Perſons. The Emiſſaries in that Negotiation, about the time the Act of Attainder paſs'd the Commons, return'd, "That there was no more hope of bor-"rowing in the City; that Men had before chearfully lent "their Eſtates, upon their confidence in the Honour and "Juſtice of the two Houſes; but they had now conſider'd "how deſperate that Security muſt prove, if the two Houſes "ſhould be Diſſolv'd. Which conſideration, begun to have an univerſal Influence upon all Thoſe who were Perſonally Bound for Moneys already borrow'd; "for that their Per-"ſons and Fortunes muſt anſwer thoſe Sums which had been "paid for the Publick benefit, if the Parliament ſhould be Diſ-"ſolv'd before any Act paſs'd for their Security. That their "Fears and Apprehenſions that this might happen, were "much advanced by the late diſcovery of the Plot againſt "the Parliament; for though the particulars thereof were "not yet publiſh'd, they diſcern'd there was not that good "meaning to the Parliament, as it deſerv'd. This was no ſooner offer'd, than the Reaſonableneſs of the Objection was en-forced; and the Neceſſity of finding ſome Expedient "to "ſatisfy the People of the gracious Intention and Reſolution "of the King; which were moſt unqueſtionable (for in all thoſe articles of time, when they were to demand ſome un-reaſonable thing from him, they ſpared no dutiful mention of the Piety and Goodneſs of his own Princely Nature; or large Promiſes what demonſtrations of Duty they would ſhortly make to him) No way could be thought of ſo ſure, as an Act of Parliament, "That this Parliament ſhould not be "Adjourn'd, Prorogu'd, or Diſſolv'd, but by Act of Parlia-"ment; which, upon this occaſion, his Majeſty would never "deny to Paſs.

The Arts by which that Act was obtain'd.

It is not credible, what an univerſal reception and con-currence this Motion met with (which was to remove the Landmarks, and to deſtroy the Foundation of the Kingdom) inſomuch, as a Committee was immediately appointed to withdraw, and to prepare a ſhort Bill to that purpoſe; which was within a ſhort time (leſs than an Hour) brought into the Houſe, and immediately twice Read, and Committed; an expedition ſcarce ever heard of before in Parliament; and the next day, with as little agitation, and the contradiction of very few Voices, Ingroſs'd, and carried up to the Lords: with them it had ſome Debate, and Amendments, which were deliver'd at a Conference, the principal whereof was, "That the time ſhould be limited and not left indefinite, and "that it ſhould not be Diſſolv'd within two Years, except by

"consent of both Houses; that time being sufficient to provide against any Accidents that were then apprehended.

THESE Alterations were highly resented in the House of Commons, as argument of Jealousy between the King and the Parliament, "that it should be imaginable the Members "of both Houses, who resided from their Houses and conve- "niences at great charge for the Service of the Publick, would "desire to continue longer together than the necessity of that "Service should require; without considering, that it was more unlikely that the King (who had condescended so far to them, and had yet in truth receiv'd no fruit from their meeting) would Dissolve them, as long as they intended that for which they were Summon'd together, and contain'd themselves within the bounds of Duty and Moderation.

BUT the Commons stoutly insisted on their own Bill; and the Lords, in that hurry of Noise and Confusion, when the meetings of the People were so frequent, kindly Consented likewise to it: and so, by the importunity, and upon the undertaking of Persons he then most trusted, in the agony of the other dispatch, the King was induced to include that Bill in the Commission with the Act of Attainder, and they were both Pass'd together.

AFTER the Passing these two Bills, the temper and spirit of the People, both within and without the walls of the two Houses, grew marvellous calm and composed; there being likewise about that time Pass'd by the King, the two Bills for the taking away the Star-Chamber Court, and the High Commission: So that there was not a Grievance or Inconvenience, Real or Imaginary, to which there was not a thorough Remedy applied; and therefore all Men expected, that both Armies would be speedily Disbanded, and such returns of Duty and Acknowledgement be made to the King, as might be agreeable to their Professions, and to the Royal Favours he had vouchsafed to his People.

BUT what provisions soever were made for the Publick, particular Persons had receiv'd no satisfaction. The Death of the Earl of *Bedford*, and the high Proceedings in all those Cases in which the King was most concern'd, left all Those who expected Offices and Preferments, desperate in their hopes: And yet an Accident happen'd, that might have been look'd upon as an earnest or instance of some encouragement that way.

BESIDES the Lord *Say*'s being invested in the Mastership of the Wards, in the place of the Lord *Cottington* (who was every day threaten'd, upon the Secretary's Paper of Results, to be accused of High Treason, till, like a Wise Man, he retir'd

retir'd from the Offices which begot his Trouble; and for a long time after, till he again Embark'd himſelf in Publick Employments, enjoy'd himſelf without the leaſt diſturbance) At a Committee in the Houſe of Lords, in the Afternoon, in ſome Debate, Paſſion aroſe between the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, and the Lord *Mowbray*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Arundel*; and from angry and diſdainful Words, an offer or attempt of Blows was made; for which Miſdemeanour, they were the next day both ſent to the Tower by the Houſe of Lords. The King taking advantage of this miſcarriage; and having been long incenſed, by the Paſſionate, Indiſcreet, and Inſolent Carriage of the Earl, ſent to him, by a Gentleman Uſher, for his Staff; and within two or three days after, beſtow'd it upon the Earl of *Eſſex*: who, without any heſitation, took it.

The King takes the Staff of Lord Chamberlain from the Earl of Pembroke, *and gives it to the Earl of* Eſſex.

It was thought this extraordinary grace to the moſt Popular Perſon of the Kingdom, would have a notable influence upon the whole Party, which made Him believe it depended very much on him: But it was ſo far from having that effect, as they look'd upon that favour, rather as a mark of Puniſhment and Revenge upon the Earl of *Pembroke*, for his affection to Them, and for giving his Suffrage againſt the Earl of *Strafford* (which he had often profeſs'd to the King he could never in Conſcience do) than of eſteem and kindneſs to the Earl of *Eſſex*; and ſo they were in truth more offended and incenſed with the Diſgrace and diſobligation to the One, than they were pleaſed with the Preferment of the Other: therefore whatever concern'd the King in Right; or what he might naturally expect from the Compliance and Affection of the Houſe; or what was any way recommended by his Majeſty to them, found little or no Reſpect.

The truth of the caſe of Tonnage and Poundage.

His Revenue was ſo far from being advanced (as had been glorioufly promiſed) that it was, both in Dignity and Value, much leſſen'd from what it was: For ſhortly after the beginning of the Parliament, great Complaint had been made, "that Tonnage and Poundage (which is the Duty and Subſidy paid by the Merchant upon Trade) "had been taken by "the King without conſent of Parliament; the caſe whereof in truth is this: This Duty had been conſtantly given to the Succeeding King, ever ſince the Reign of King *Edward* the Fourth, for his Life, in the Firſt Parliament they held after their coming to the Crown: Before that time, it had been granted for years; and was originally intended for the ſupport of the Navy, whereby the Merchant might be freed from danger of Pirates; and upon the death of every King ſince that time, his Succeſſor commonly receiv'd it, without the leaſt interruption, till the next Parliament; in the be-

ginning whereof it was always without ſcruple granted: So that, though it was, and muſt always be acknowledg'd as the free gift of the People (as all other Subſidies are) yet it was look'd upon as ſo Eſſential a part of the Revenue of the Crown, that it could not be without it: and as the King is not leſs King before his Coronation than he is after, ſo this Duty had been ſtill enjoy'd as freely before, as it was after an Act of Parliament to that purpoſe; neither had there been ever any Exception taken in Parliament (which ſometimes was not in a Year after the death of the former King) that the Crown had continued the Receipt of it; which it did, till the time of a new Grant.

THUS, after the death of King *James*, his Majeſty receiv'd it, till the Firſt Parliament was Summon'd; and, That and Two more being unfortunately Diſſolv'd (as was ſaid before) in which his Miniſters were not ſollicitous enough for the Paſſing that Act for Tonnage and Poundage, continued the Receipt of it till this preſent Parliament: Then (that is, many weeks after the beginning of it) it was directed, "That a "Bill ſhould be ſpeedily prepar'd for the granting it, as had "been uſual, leſt the Crown might, by ſo long enjoying, in "a manner preſcribe to it of Right, without the donation "of the People; which the King always diſclaim'd to do. Shortly after (no Man preſuming to intimate, that it ſhould be granted in any other manner than of courſe it had been) it was alledg'd "that the Bill could not be ſo ſpeedily prepar'd "as were to be wiſh'd, by reaſon that there were many juſt "Exceptions made by the Merchants to the Book of Rates, "which had been lately made by the Farmers of the Cu-"ſtoms, in the time and by the direction of the Earl of "*Portland* (Circumſtances that carried prejudice enough to whatſoever they were applied) and therefore it was propoſed, for the preſent, as the beſt expedient to continue his Majeſty's Supply, and to preſerve the Right of giving in the People, "that a Temporary Bill ſhould paſs, for the granting "the ſame to his Majeſty for two Months only, in which "time a new Book of Rates ſhould be made, more advan-"tageous to his Majeſty in point of profit (which was always profeſs'd) "and then a Compleat Act might paſs.

To this purpoſe a Bill was accordingly brought in, the Preamble whereof "renounc'd and declar'd againſt not only "any power in the Crown of Levying the Duty of Tonnage "and Poundage, without the expreſs conſent of Parliament, "but alſo any power of Impoſition upon any Merchandizes "whatſoever, and in any caſe whatſoever; which had been conſtantly practiſed in the beſt times by the Crown; had the countenance of a ſolemn Judgement in the Exchequer Cham-

ber;

ber; and though often agitated in Parliament, had never been yet declar'd againſt: Yet this quietly paſs'd both Houſes, as a thing not worth conſidering. And ſo in expectation and confidence, that they would make glorious Additions to the State and Revenue of the Crown, his Majeſty ſuffer'd himſelf to be Stripp'd of all that he had left; and of the ſole ſtock of Credit he had to borrow Moneys upon: for though in truth Men knew that Revenue was not Legally veſted in the King till an Act of Parliament, yet all Men look'd upon it as unqueſtionable to Paſs; and ſo it was not only a competent proportion for the preſent ſupport of his Houſe, but was underſtood a good Security for any ordinary Sum of Money upon advance, as forty or fifty thouſand pound, upon any emergent occaſion.

The mention of the former Plot between the Court and the Army revi'd in the House of Commons.

ALL good Men diſcern'd this groſs uſage, and the diſadvantage impoſed upon his Majeſty by this mutation; and therefore expected a full Reparation, by ſuch an Act for Life as had been uſual; and ſuch an improvement of the Book of Rates as had been promiſed, as ſoon as the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford* was over: which had been always objected, as neceſſary to precede all other conſultations. But this was no ſooner mov'd, "as Seaſonable in order to Their own "Profeſſions, and in a degree due to the King, after ſo many "reiterated expreſſions of Favour and Affection to his People, "by ſo many excellent Laws, and other Condeſcenſions; than they objected, "the Odiouſneſs of the late Plot againſt the "Parliament, which was not yet fully diſcover'd: That not-"withſtanding thoſe gracious demonſtrations of Favour from "the King, in the Laws and other Acts mention'd, They "had great cauſe to apprehend, ſome ill affected Perſons had "ſtill an influence upon his Majeſty, to the Diſſervice of the "Parliament, and to beget Jealouſies in Him towards them; "for that they had plainly diſcover'd (which they ſhould in "a ſhort time be able to preſent fully to the Houſe) that "there had been a Deſign, not only to Poyſon the Affections "of the Army towards the Parliament, by making them be-"lieve that They were neglected, and the *Scots* preferr'd "much before them; but to bring up that Army to *London*, "with a purpoſe to Awe the Parliament: That there was a "reſolution to Seize the Tower, and to make it a Curb upon "the City: That there had been an attempt to prevail with "the Officers of the *Scotiſh* Army, at leaſt to ſit ſtill as Neu-"ters, whilſt the Others acted this Tragedy: That the Con-"federates in this Deſign had taken an Oath, to Oppoſe any "courſe that ſhould be adviſed for the Removing the Biſhops "out of the Houſe of Peers; to Preſerve and Defend the "King's Prerogative, to the utmoſt extent that any of his

"Proge-

"Progenitors had enjoy'd; and to ſettle his Majeſty's Reve-
"nue: That they had reaſon to fear, his Majeſty's own Con-
"currence, at leaſt his Approbation in this deſign (which,
"if not prevented, muſt have prov'd ſo pernicious and fatal
"to the Kingdom) for that, beſides that the Perſons princi-
"pally engag'd in it, were of the neareſt Truſt about the
"King and Queen, They had clear proof, that a Paper had
"paſs'd his Majeſty's peruſal, in which were contain'd, many
"ſharp Invectives againſt the Parliament; a deſire that they
"might have the exerciſe of Martial Law (the mention
"whereof, was the moſt Unpopular and Odious thing that
"could be imagin'd) and an offer of Service to Defend his
"Majeſty's Perſon, which was an implication as if it had been
"in Danger: and that this Paper ſhould have been Sign'd by
"all the Officers of the Army; for the better encouragement
"wherein, the King himſelf had written a *C.* and an *R.* as a
"teſtimony that He approv'd of it.

THIS Diſcourſe, ſo Methodically and Confidently averr'd, made a ſtrange Impreſſion (without reſerving themſelves till the evidence ſhould be produced) in the minds of moſt Men; who believ'd, that ſuch particulars could never have been with that Solemnity inform'd, if the proofs were not very clear; and ſerv'd, not only to blaſt whatſoever was mov'd on his Majeſty's behalf, but to diſcountenance, what, till then, had been the moſt Popular motion that could be made, which was the Disbanding both Armies, and the *Scots* return into their own Country. For the better accompliſhment whereof, and as a Teſtimony of their Brotherly Affections, the two Houſes had frankly and bountifully undertaken, "to
"give them a Gratuity of three hundred thouſand pounds,
"over and above the twenty five thouſand pounds the
"Month, during the time that their ſtay here ſhould be ne-
"ceſſary.

300000 l. *Voted to the Scots for a Gratuity, beſides their Monthly allowance.*

AFTER that Act, the King might have been reaſonably awaked from any extraordinary Confidence in the Loyalty, Honour, or Juſtice, of both Houſes. And without doubt, when Poſterity ſhall recover the Courage, and Conſcience, and the old Honour, of the *Engliſh* Nation, it will not with more Indignation and Bluſhes contemplate any action of this Seditious and Rebellious Age, than that the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, who were not guilty of the Treaſon, ſhould recompenſe an Invaſion from a Forreign Nation, with whatever Eſtabliſhments They propoſed in their own Kingdom, and with a Donative of three hundred thouſand pounds, over and above all Charges, out of the bowels of *England*; which will yet appear the more prodigious, when it ſhall be conſider'd, that not a Fifth part of thoſe who were

Acceſſaries

Acceſſaries to that Infamous Prodigality, were either favourers of their Ends, or great Well-wiſhers to their Nation.

BUT very many gave themſelves leave, unfaithfully, to be abſent from thoſe Debates, when the Wealth and Honour of their Country was to be tranſplanted into a ſtrange Land; Others look'd upon it as a good purchaſe, to be freed of the payment of Fourſcore Thouſand pounds the Month (which was the Charge of both Armies) by an entire Sum of Three Hundred Thouſand pounds; and ſome pleaſed themſelves with an aſſurance, that the Scandal, and Unreaſonableneſs of the Sum, would provoke the People to a Hatred and Revenge, and ſo that the Brother-hood would not be Supported, but Deſtroy'd, by that extravagant Bounty: Yet theſe were only ſhort Ejaculations to pleaſe themſelves for the time; for many of thoſe, who had no other reaſon to conſent to that vaſt Sum, but that they might be rid of them, were ſo inflam'd and tranſported with the Tale of the Plot, that they had then no mind to let them go; and had ſo far ſwallow'd and digeſted an aſſurance that it was true, that they reſerv'd no Diſtinguiſhing or Judging faculties, for the time when the Evidence and Proof ſhould be preſented to them.

AFTER they had play'd with this Plot, and given the Houſe heats and colds, by applying Parts of it to them upon emergent occaſions, for the ſpace of near three Months; and finding, that though it did them many notable Services, in advancing their own Reputations, and Calumniating the King's Honour, yet, that it had not a through effect at Court for their Preferment; they reſolv'd to ſhew all their Ware, and to produce their whole Evidence: for the perfecting whereof, they had "a late mark of God's great favour towards them, "in his furniſhing them with Evidence for the compleat Diſ-"covery of the whole Miſchief, from one that was a principal "Contriver of it.

WE ſaid before, that upon the firſt Motion in the Houſe of Commons, by Mr *Pym*, "for a Committee of Examination, "and for an Addreſs to the King, that he would grant no "Paſſes to any of his Servants to go beyond Seas, ſome Perſons, of near relation to his Truſt, immediately abſented themſelves; which were Mr *Peircy*, and Mr *Jermyn*: now the latter of theſe, without interruption, tranſported himſelf into *France*; but Mr *Peircy*, delaying his Journey upon ſome occaſions of his own, and concealing himſelf in ſome obſcure places in *Suſſex*, near to his Brother's Houſe, was at laſt diſcover'd; and when he endeavour'd to have eſcaped, was ſet upon by the Country people, and with great difficulty, and not without ſome hurt, got from them, and was not in ſome Months again heard of.

IT

It was generally believ'd afterwards, that finding the Sea-Ports ſhut, and Watches ſet for his apprehenſion in all thoſe places, whereby the Tranſporting himſelf into Forreign Parts was very difficult, he found means to return to *London*, and to put himſelf into his Brother's Protection; where it is thought he was harbour'd, till his hurt was cured; the ſtrictneſs of the enquiry, over; and, till he had prepar'd that Letter to his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, which ſerv'd, as far as in Him lay, to deſtroy all his Companions, and furniſh'd the Committee with that which they call'd "a double "Evidence: for they had no ſooner receiv'd that Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland*, than they told the Houſe, "They were now ready for a Compleat Diſcovery; and thereupon, produced the Evidence of Colonel *Goring*, and the Letter from Mr *Peircy*; both which agreed upon the relation, "of a meeting at Mr *Peircy*'s Chamber; and of a diſ-"courſe of the Parliament's Neglect of the King's, and Fa-"vouring the *Scotiſh* Army; the taking an Oath of Secrecy; "and ſome other particulars: all which had been poſitively denied, by thoſe of them that were Members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr *Wilmot*, Mr *Aſhburnham*, and Mr *Pollard*, upon their Examinations upon Oath.

It will hardly be believ'd hereafter (but that the Effects of ſuch Impoſtures have left ſuch deep Marks) that the Evidence Then given, could, in ſo Grave and Judging an Aſſembly, as a High Court of Parliament, till then, had always been, have brought the leaſt prejudice upon the King; or indeed, damage to any Perſon accuſed: there being in all the Teſtimonies produced, ſo little ſhew of Proof, of a real Deſign, or Plot, to bring up the Army (which was the chief matter alledg'd) to Awe the Parliament, that in truth it was very evident, there was no Plot at all; only a free Communication between Perſons (the major part whereof were of the Houſe) "of the ill Arts that were generally uſed to "Corrupt the Affections of the People; and of ſome Expedient, whereby, in that ſo publick infection, the Army (in which they had all conſiderable Command, two of them being General Officers) "might be preſerv'd from being wrought "upon and corrupted; in which diſcourſe, Colonel *Goring* himſelf, as appear'd by his own Examination, only propoſed wild and extravagant Overtures, "of bringing up the Army, "and ſurprizing the Tower; which was, by all the reſt, with "manifeſt diſlike, rejected: That all this had paſs'd at one "meeting, in which, They who met were ſo ill ſatisfied in "one another, that they never would come together again. "That when the bringing up the Army to *London* was once "talked of before the King, his Majeſty would not hear of it,

"but

"but only desired, that their Affections might be kept en-
"tire for his Service, as far as was consistent with the Laws
"of the Land, which were in danger to be invaded.

YET, notwithstanding that all this appear'd; and that this was all that did appear (besides a Discourse of a Petition, for the Petition it self they would not produce, sign'd with *C. R.* which is before set down in terms) the Specious, Positive Narration of the whole, by Mr *Pym*, before the Evidence was read; the Denying what was Now proved, and confess'd by themselves, by Mr *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham*, and *Pollard*, upon the Former Examination; the Flight of Mr *Jermyn*, and Mr *Piercy*, and some others; the mention of some clauses in the Petition sign'd with *C. R*; and some envious, dark glances, both in Mr *Goring's* Examination, and Mr *Piercy's* Letter, at the King and Queen, as if They knew more than was express'd, so transported the Hearers (who made themselves Judges too) that taking all that was said, to be proved, they quickly voted, "That there was a design "to bring up the Army to force the Parliament; resolv'd to accuse Mr *Jermyn* and Mr *Piercy* of High Treason; committed the three Members of the House of Commons to several Prisons, and put them from being Members, that in their rooms they might bring in three more fit for their service, as they shortly did; gave Colonel *Goring* publick thanks, "for "preserving the Kingdom, and the Liberties of Parliament; and fill'd the People with Jealousy for their Security, and with universal Acclamations of their great wisdom and vigilancy. So that this Plot serv'd to produce their first Protestation; to inflame the People against the Earl of *Strafford*, and in a degree to compass their ends upon that great Person, as hath been before observ'd; to procure the Bill for the continuance of this Parliament, the Foundation, or the Fountain, of all the publick Calamities; to hinder and cross all overtures made for the Revenue of the King, and to lessen the general Reverence and duty to both their Majesties; to continue the *Scotish* Army within the Kingdom, and consequently, to hinder the King's from being Disbanded; to incense both Houses against the Bishops, as if the design had been principally for Their protection (their being one Witness who said, "he had been told, that the Clergy would "raise and pay one thousand Horse, to be employ'd against "the Parliament) to blast the reputation of the Earl of *New Castle*, whose zeal to his Majesty's Service was most remarkable, as if he had been to have Commanded the Army; and lastly, to advance their own credit and estimation with the People, as if they were the only Patriots, that intended the Preservation of Religion, Law, and Liberty.

AND

And having made this use of it (which is a sufficient argument what opinion they had of Their own Evidence) They never Proceeded against any of the Persons who were in their power, though they patiently attended and importuned a Trial above a year after their Accusation: for they well knew, there must be then a more exact and strict weighing of the Proofs; and that the Persons accused, would not only vindicate Themselves from the aspersions which were laid upon them, but could Recriminate upon the principal Prosecutors with such charges, as they would not so easily be freed from; and this was the reason, that, even during the heat and noise of their Accusation, they receiv'd very civil offices, visits, and addresses, from the chief of those who were trusted with the Prosecution.

The sending that Letter of Mr *Piercy's* to the House of Commons; or rather, the procuring that Letter to be writ (in which, such insinuations were made, to the prejudice of the King and Queen) was the first visible instance of the defection of the Earl of *Northumberland* from his Majesty's Service; which wrought several ill effects in the minds of many: For, as the Earl then had the most esteem'd and unblemish'd Reputation, in Court and Country, of any Person of his Rank throughout the Kingdom; so They who knew him well, discern'd, that the Greatness of that Reputation, was but an effect of the singular Grace and Favour shew'd to him by his Majesty; who, immediately upon the death of his Father, had taken this Earl (being then less than Thirty years of age) into his immediate and eminent Care; first made him a Privy-Counsellor; then Knight of the Order of the Garter; then (that he might fit him by degrees for the greatest Trust and Employments) sent him Admiral into the Narrow Seas, of a Royal Navy; and after a Summer spent in that exercise, made him Lord High Admiral of *England*; and to the very minute of which we speak, prosecuted him with all manner and demonstration of Respect and Kindness; and (as I heard his Majesty himself say) "Courted him as "his Mistress, and Conversed with him as his Friend, with-"out the least interruption or intermission of any possible "favour and kindness. And therefore many, who observ'd this great Earl purchase this opportunity of Disserving the King, at the price of his Brother's honour, and of his Own gratitude, concluded, that he had some notable temptation in Conscience, and that the Court was much worse than it was believ'd to be.

The truth is, that after his Brother's being accused of High Treason; and then, upon his hurt in *Sussex*, coming directly to *Northumberland*-House to shelter himself; the Earl being

being in great trouble how to ſend him away beyond the Seas after his wound was cured, adviſed with a confident Friend then in Power, whoſe affection to him he doubted not, and who, innocently enough, brought Mr *Pym* into the Council, who over-witted them both, by frankly conſenting, "that Mr *Piercy* ſhould eſcape into *France*, which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him, "Firſt to draw "ſuch a Letter from him, as might by the Party be applied "as an Evidence of the reality of the Plot, after he was "eſcaped; and in this manner the Letter was procured, which made a laſting Quarrel between the two Brothers, and made the Earl more at the diſpoſal of thoſe perſons whom he had truſted ſo far, than he had been before.

AFTER the Act for the Continuance of the Parliament, the Houſe of Commons took much more upon them, in point of their Privileges, than they had done; and more undervalued the Concurrence of the Peers; though that Act, neither added any thing to, nor extended their Juriſdiction: which Juriſdiction, the wiſdom of former times kept from being Limited or Defined; there being Then no danger of exceſs; and it being much more agreeable to the nature of the Supreme Court to have an unlimited Juriſdiction. But now that they could not be Diſſolv'd without Their Own conſent (the Apprehenſion and Fear whereof, had always before kept them within ſome bounds of Modeſty) they call'd any Power they pleaſed to aſſume to Themſelves, "a "Branch of their Privilege; and any Oppoſing or Queſtioning that Power, "a Breach of their Privileges: which all "men were bound to Defend by Their late Proteſtation; "and They were the Only proper Judges of Their Own Pri-"vileges.

HEREUPON, They call'd whom they pleas'd, *Delinquents*; receiv'd Complaints of all kinds; and committed to Priſon whom they pleas'd: which had been never done, nor attempted, before This Parliament; except in ſome ſuch apparent Breach, as the Arreſting a Priviledg'd perſon, or the like: And, as if Theirs had ſwallow'd up all other Privileges, of Peers, and the King himſelf, upon the Lords rejecting a Bill ſent up to them, "to compel all perſons (without diſtinction of Quality; and without diſtinction of Puniſhment or Proceeding, upon their refuſal) "to take the late Proteſtation; and two Lords of great Credit (the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Lord *Roberts*) having refuſed to take the ſame; the Houſe of Commons in great Fury, and with many expreſſons of Contempt, by a Vote declared, "that the Proteſtation "made by Them, was fit to be taken by every perſon, that "was well affected in Religion, and to the good of the Com-

"mon-

"mon-wealth; and therefore, that what perſon ſoever ſhould "not take the Proteſtation, was unfit to bear Office in the "Church or Common-wealth; and directed farther, "That "that Vote ſhould be Printed, and that the Knights and "Burgeſſes ſhould ſend down Copies of it, to the ſeveral "places for which they ſerv'd: which was the moſt unparal-lel'd breach of Privilege; and the higheſt and moſt inſolent Affront to the Lords, to the King, and to the Juſtice of the Kingdom; and the moſt Deſtructive to Parliaments, that any Age had been guilty of. And yet, when ſome of the Peers nobly reſented it, on the behalf of the Peerage, and the Liberty of the Subject, and preſs'd reſolutely for reparation, means was found out, to engage the King to interpoſe his Royal mediation with thoſe Lords, to the end they might quietly paſs by that publick Violation and Indignity without further inſiſting on it.

ALL this time the two Armies were continued at a vaſt Charge, many men whiſpering (but ſo that it might be ſpoken of) "that the *Scots* would not retire, till the Bill "againſt Epiſcopacy was paſs'd: Whereupon, the King ſent them word, about the beginning of *July*, "that he deſired all "ſpeed might be uſed for the Disbanding both the Armies; for "the better, and more orderly doing whereof, he had Con-"ſtituted the Earl of *Holland* General of his Army (the Earl of *Northumberland*, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition in health, or ſome other reaſon, having laid down his Commiſſion) "and intended forthwith to ſend him down thither: "that his Majeſty himſelf, according to a former Reſolution, "and Promiſe made to his Subjects of *Scotland*, meant to vi-"ſit that his Native Kingdom, for the better perfecting the "Peace there; and appointed the day (about fourteen days "after) he reſolv'd to begin his Progreſs; and therefore "wiſh'd them, againſt that time, to Prepare and Finiſh any "ſuch Acts, as they deſired might receive his Majeſty's Ap-"probation, for the good of the Kingdom, if there yet re-"main'd any thing to be ask'd of him. Notwithſtanding which meſſage, they ſpent moſt of their time upon the Bill for extirpation of Biſhops, Deans, and Chapters; without either finiſhing the Act of Pacification between the two Nations, or giving order for the Disbanding the Army.

IT was wonder'd at by many, and ſure was a great Misfortune to the King, that he choſe not rather, at that time (though the buſineſs was only to Disband) to Conſtitute the Earl of *Eſſex* General of his Army, than the Earl of *Holland*; for (beſides that it would have been an Act of much more grace and ſatisfaction to the People, and to the Soldiery) his Majeſty having lately given him ſo great an earneſt of his

his truſt, as the making him Chamberlain of his Houſe, he ought in Policy to have purſued that work, by any ſeaſonable accumulation of Favour, till he had made him his perfect Creature; which had been very eaſy, if skilfully attempted: for his Pride and Ambition, which were not accompanied with any habit of ill Nature, were very capable of Obligations; and he had a Faithfulneſs and Conſtancy in his Nature, which had kept him always Religious in matter of truſt; Then, he was almoſt a declared Enemy to the *Scotiſh* Nation; and would have been very Punctual in all Formalities and Decencies, which had any relation to his Maſter's Honour, or the Honour of the Nation. In a word, he might have been Impoſed upon in his underſtanding, but could not have been Corrupted, by hopes or fears of what the two Houſes could have done to him; and was then more the Idol of the People, than in truth the Idolater of them.

WHEREAS, by making the Earl of *Holland* General, his Majeſty much Diſobliged the Other, who expected it, and to whom it had been in a manner offer'd; and made him apprehend ſome diſtruſt in the King towards him; and that his former favour in his Office had been conferr'd on him, rather becauſe no man elſe had been able to bear the Envy of Diſplacing the Earl of *Pembroke*, than that his Own Merit and Service was valued. Beſides, the Earl of *Holland*, upon whom he conferr'd that Honour, had formerly diſappointed him, and often incurr'd his diſpleaſure; and wore ſome marks of it; and was of no other Intereſt or Reputation with the Party which could do miſchief, than as a perſon Obnoxious to them, in the miſ-executing his great and terrible Office of Chief Juſtice in Eyre, by which he had vex'd and oppreſs'd moſt Counties in *England*, and the moſt Conſiderable perſons in thoſe Counties; and in other particulars; that they knew he durſt not offend them, and would purchaſe Their protection and good opinion at any price: As it fell out; for within few days after the King was gone through that Army, in his way to *Scotland*, the Earl wrote a Letter, which was communicated to both Houſes, in which he myſtically expreſs'd "ſome new Deſign to have been ſet "on foot for Corrupting the Army; for which there was never after the leaſt colour given; but ſerv'd then, to heighten the old Jealouſies, and to beſpeak a Miſunderſtanding for whatſoever ſhould be propoſed on his Majeſty's behalf during his abſence.

MEN now believ'd, that they would be very forward in Diſmiſſing the *Scotiſh* Army, and Disbanding the other, which coſt the Kingdom ſo vaſt a Sum of Money every Month; and they had already Voted a Brotherly aſſiſtance

to the *Scots* of Three Hundred Thousand pounds, for the Service They had perform'd; and an Act was already prepared for the raising the Sum; but They had yet no mind to part with their beloved Brethren.

THE Commissioners who treated with the *Scots*, had agreed, "that the King should be present in his Parliament in "*Edenborough*, by such a day in *July*, to Pass the Act for Pa- "cification between the two Kingdoms, and such other Acts "as his Parliament there should propose to him; and his Majesty prepared to begin his Progress, soon enough to be in *Scotland* by the time; and they resolv'd on all sides, "that "the one Army should be drawn out of the Kingdom, and "the other totally Disbanded, before the King should arrive "in the Northern parts, for many reasons. As They had lost all confidence in the affections of the *English* Army, so there were many Jealousies arisen among the *Scots*; both in their Army, and amongst their greatest Counsellors: notwithstanding all which, instead of making hast to the Disbanding, They publish'd much Jealousy and Dissatisfaction to remain with them, of the Court; "There were some evil "Counsellors still about the King, who obstructed many "gracious acts, which would otherwise flow from his good- "ness and bounty towards his People; and made ill impres- "sions in him, of the Parliament it self, and its proceedings.

THEIR design was to remove the Duke of *Richmond* from the King; both because they had a mind to have his Office of Warden of the Cinque-Ports from him, that it might be conferr'd on the Earl of *Warwick*; and as he was almost the Only man of great Quality and Consideration about the King, who did not in the least degree stoop, or make court to them, but cross'd them boldly in the House; and all other ways pursued his Master's Service, with his utmost vigour and intentness of mind: They could not charge him with any thing like a Crime, and therefore only intended by some Vote to Brand him, and make him Odious; by which they presum'd, they should at last make him willing to ransome himself by quitting that Office: For which, there was some underhand treaty, by persons who were sollicitous to prevent farther inconveniencies; and as they found any thing like to succeed in that, they slacken'd or advanced their discourse of Evil Counsellors.

ONE day they were very warm upon the Argument, and had a purpose to have named Him directly, which they had hitherto forborn to do, when Mr *Hyde* stood up, and said, "He did really believe that there yet remain'd some Evil "Counsellors, who did much harm about the King; and "that it would be much better to Name them, than to

"Amuse

"Amuſe the Houſe ſo often with the general mention of "them, as if we were afraid to name them; He propoſed, "that there might be a day appointed, on which, upon due "reflections upon Thoſe who had been moſt notorious in "doing Miſchief to the Publick, we might moſt probably "find, Who they were who trod ſtill in the ſame paths, and "might Name them accordingly; and that for His part, if a "day were appointed for that diſcovery, He would be ready "to name One, who by all the marks we could judge by, "and by his former courſe of Life, might very reaſonably be "believ'd to be an Evil Counſellor.

THEY were exceedingly apprehenſive that he meant the Marquis of *Hamilton* (who, for the reaſons aforeſaid, was very dear to them) and thenceforward, though they deſiſted not from proſecuting the Duke, till at laſt they had compell'd him to quit the Cinque-Ports to the Earl of *Warwick*, They no more urged the diſcovery of Evil Counſellors. And all the Familiar Friends of Mr *Hyde*, were importuned to move him, "not to endeavour to do any Prejudice to the "Marquis of *Hamilton*; and even the King himſelf, was prevail'd with to ſend to him to that purpoſe: So induſtrious was that People to preſerve Thoſe whom for private ends they deſir'd to Preſerve, as well as to Deſtroy Thoſe who they deſir'd ſhould be deſtroy'd.

Sr Edward Deering's *Bill for extirpating Epiſcopacy revived in the Houſe of Commons, and Committed.*

WHEN every body expected that nothing ſhould be mention'd in the Houſe but the diſpatch of the Treaty of the Pacification, by the Commiſſioners of both ſides; which was the only obſtruction to the diſcharge of the Armies, and which could be done in two days, if they purſued it: They call'd in a Morning, "for the Bill (that had ſo long before been brought in by Sr *Edward Deering*) "for the Extirpa-"tion of Epiſcopacy; and gave it a Second reading; and Reſolv'd, "that it ſhould be committed to a Committee of "the whole Houſe, and that it ſhould be proceeded upon the "next Morning. It was a very long Debate the next Morning, after the Speaker had left the Chair, Who ſhould be in the Chair for the Committee; They who wiſh'd well to the Bill, having reſolv'd "to put Mr *Hyde* into the Chair, that he "might not give them trouble by frequent Speaking, and ſo "too much obſtruct the expediting the Bill; They who were againſt the Bill, preſs'd and call'd loud to Mr *Crew* to be in the Chair: but in concluſion, Mr *Hyde* was commanded to the Chair; They who were Enemies to the Bill being divided in opinion, many believing, that he would obſtruct the Bill more in that place, than if he remain'd at liberty; and they found it to be true.

THE Firſt day the Committee ſate full ſeven hours, and

determin'd, "that every day, assoon as the House was re-"sumed, the Chairman should report the several Votes of "that day to the House, which should determine them be-"fore it rose; which was without any Precedent, and very Prejudicial to the grave transaction of the business: For, besides that it was a Prejudging the House in its judgement, who, upon Report of the Committee, should have regard to the whole Bill in the Amendments made by them, which They were precluded from, by having confirm'd the several days Votes; It was so late every day before the House was resumed (the Speaker commonly leaving the Chair about nine of the Clock, and never resuming it till Four in the Afternoon) that it was very thin; They only, who prosecuted the Bill with impatience, remaining in the House, and the Others, who abhorr'd it, growing weary of so tiresome an attendance, left the House at Dinner time, and afterwards follow'd their Pleasures: So that the Lord *Falkland* was wont to say, "that They who hated Bishops, hated them worse "than the Devil, and that They who lov'd them did not love "them so well as their Dinner.

HOWEVER, the Chairman gave some stop to their hast; for, besides that at the end of his Report every day to the House, before the House put the Question for the concurrence in the Votes, He always enlarged himself against every one of them, and so spent them much time; When They were in the heat and passion of the Debate, they oftentimes were entangled in their questions; so that when He Reported to the House the work of the day, he did frequently Report two or three Votes directly contrary to each other, which, in the heat of their Debate, they had unawares run into. And after near Twenty days spent in that manner, they found themselves very little advanced towards a Conclusion, and that they must Review all that they had done; and the King being resolv'd to begin his Journey for *Scotland*, They were forced to discontinue their beloved Bill, and let it rest; Sr *Arthur Haslerig* declaring in the House, "that he "would never hereafter put an Enemy into the Chair: nor had they ever after the courage to resume the consideration of the Bill, till after the War was entred into.

The Bill laid aside.

THE time being come, within two or three days (according to his former Declaration) for the King's Journey into *Scotland*, the House of Commons thought it time to lay aside their Disputes upon the Church, which every day grew more involv'd, and to intend the perfecting the Act of Pacification, and the Order for Disbanding; both which were thought necessary to be dispatch'd, before his Majesty should begin his Progress; and might have been long since done. On a

suddain,

ſuddain, the Houſe of Commons grew into a perplex'd Debate, concerning the King's Journey into *Scotland* (which had been long before known, and ſolemnly promiſed by his Majeſty to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*; where preparation was made for his Reception, and the Parliament Summon'd there accordingly) and expreſſed many dark and doubtful apprehenſions of his Safety; not without ſome glances, "that "if his Majeſty were once with his Army, he might poſſibly "enter upon new Counſels, before he conſented to Disband "it; and in the end concluded, "to deſire the Lords to join "with them, in a requeſt to the King, to defer his Journey "into *Scotland*, till the Act of Pacification was paſs'd, the "Armies Disbanded, and till ſuch other Acts were prepared, "as ſhould be thought neceſſary for the good of the King-"dom; without mentioning any time, againſt which thoſe things ſhould be ready: which, though it was an unreaſonable requeſt, yet, moſt Men having no mind the King ſhould go into *Scotland*, it was conſented to by both Houſes; and thereupon, an Addreſs was made to his Majeſty to that purpoſe: who return'd his Anſwer, "that He was ſorry, the "Houſes having had ſo long notice of his intentions for that "Journey (which could not but appear very reaſonable to "them) had neglected to prepare all ſuch things, as were ne-"ceſſary to be diſpatch'd by him before he went; That, "though his preſence in *Scotland* was depended upon, by "ſuch a day, and the Diſappointment might beget ſome Pre-"judice to him, yet he was content to ſatisfy Their deſires "ſo far, as to defer his Journey for Fourteen days; within "which time they might make all things ready that were of "Importance, and beyond which time it would not be poſſible "for him to make any ſtay.

THIS time being gotten, They proceeded but ſlowly in the Directions for Disbanding (though the Earl of *Holland* was gone down to the Army) or in the Act of the Pacification; but continued their mention "of Fears and Jealouſies, "of the Peace of the Kingdom; of an Invaſion from Forreign "Parts; and an Inſurrection of the Papiſts in *England*: a-"gainſt all which, they ſaid, there was not yet Sufficient "Proviſion, by the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. And therefore one day, Sr *Arthur Haſlerig* (who, as was ſaid before, was uſed by that Party, like the Dove out of the Ark, to try what footing there was) preferr'd a Bill "for the Settling the Militia of the Kingdom, both by Sea "and Land, in ſuch Perſons as they ſhould nominate; with all thoſe Powers and Juriſdictions, which have been ſince granted to the Earl of *Eſſex*, or Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, by Land, or to the Earl of *Warwick*, by Sea. There were in the Bill

Sr Arthur Haſlerig *prefers a Bill for ſettling the Militia.*

no Names, but Blanks to receive them, when the matter ſhould be paſs'd; though Men were aſſured, that the Earl of *Eſſex* was their Confident by Land, and the Earl of *Northumberland* by Sea: and yet the inclination to the Earl of *Warwick* would have begot ſome diſturbance, if the matter had come then to be preſs'd.

The Sollicitor Saint-John *ſeconds it.*

WHEN the Title of this Bill was read, it gave ſo general an Offence to the Houſe, that it ſeem'd inclined to throw it out, without ſuffering it to be read; not without ſome Reproach to the Perſon that brought it in, "as a matter of Se-"dition; till Mr *Saint-John*, the King's Sollicitor, roſe up, and ſpoke to it, and (having, in truth, Himſelf drawn the Bill) ſaid, "He thought that Paſſion and Diſlike very un-"ſeaſonable, before the Bill was read; That it was the higheſt "Privilege of every Member, that he might propoſe any "Law, or make any Motion, which, in his Conſcience, he "thought advantageous for the Kingdom, or the Place for "which he ſerv'd. As for the matter, which by the Title "that Bill ſeem'd to comprehend, He was of opinion, that "ſomewhat was neceſſary to be done in it; for he was ſure, "that ſuch Power, as might be neceſſary for the Security of "the Kingdom, over the Militia, was not yet by Law veſted "in any Perſon; or in the Crown it ſelf: That they had "lately by their Votes Blaſted and Condemn'd the Power "of Lords Lieutenants, and their Deputies, which had been "long exerciſed, and ſubmitted to by the People; That, ſince "that was determin'd, it was neceſſary to ſubſtitute Such in "their room, as might be able to Suppreſs any Inſurrection, "or Reſiſt any Invaſion: And therefore, that it was fit to "hear the Bill read; and if any fitting Expedient was pro-"poſed in it to that purpoſe, to embrace it; otherwiſe, to "think of a better. For the Nomination of Perſons, it "would not be ſeaſonable to ſpeak of it, till the Power and "Juriſdiction were firſt ſettled and conſtituted; and then, if "it ſeem'd too great for any Subject, it might be devolv'd "upon the Crown; which yet was not ſufficiently poſſeſs'd "of a Legal Power to the purpoſes aforeſaid.

The Bill read Once and no more.

UPON this Diſcourſe, by a Perſon of the King's ſworn Council, the Bill was read; but with ſo univerſal a Diſlike, that it was never call'd upon the Second time, but ſlept, till long after the matter of it was digeſted in Ordinances.

THE peremptory day again drawing very near, for the King's Journey into *Scotland*, and very little done towards the Publick, ſince the time they had prevail'd with his Majeſty to ſuſpend it, On a *Saturday*, in the Afternoon (the Progreſs being to begin on *Monday*) They again fell into violent Paſſion againſt the King's going into *Scotland*; the which they

they thought of ſo great importance to be hinder'd, that they reſolv'd (and prevail'd with the Lords to do the like) to Sit the next day, being *Sunday*; which had ſcarce ever before been known, ſince the firſt inſtitution of Parliaments; and which they thought fit to excuſe by a ſhort Declaration, that the People might not be thereby encouraged to prophane the Sabbath.

WHEN they found the King conſtant to his former Reſolution, and that all They could alledge could prevail no farther with him, than, whereas he intended to go on *Monday* after Dinner, to ſtay till *Tueſday* Morning, They very earneſtly propoſed, "that He would leave a Commiſſion with ſome "Perſons to paſs ſuch Acts as ſhould be prepared and paſs "both Houſes in his abſence; and to make a *Cuſtos Regni*, to "ſupply the place of Government till his return: with many other Extravagancies, which themſelves underſtood not. But when they found that no ſuch Commiſſion could be Legally granted, to Conſent to any Acts that were not conſented to by both Houſes at the date of the Commiſſion; and that both the Perſon and the Power of a *Cuſtos Regni*, would be duly weigh'd, and would take up much conſideration, if the King were willing to ſatisfy them; They were contented with a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Eſſex*, of Lieutenant General on that ſide *Trent*: which his Majeſty having granted; and confirm'd the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms (which in great haſt was tranſacted in both Houſes, as if it had been only matter of Form) he took his Journey from *London* towards *Scotland* toward the middle of *Auguſt*, leaving both Houſes ſitting at *Weſtminſter*.

The Act of Pacification being paſs'd, the King begins his Journey towards Scotland.

THE unexpected Paſſion and Importunity to hinder his Majeſty's Journey into *Scotland*, was not well underſtood; and the leſs, for that the Governing Party was divided upon it: Some of them, with trouble equal to what they had at any time expreſs'd, inſiſting upon his not going; Others alledging, "that his Majeſty was ſo far engaged in it, that he "could not in Honour recede from it: Whilſt the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who were often appeal'd and referr'd to in the Debate, anſwer'd ſo myſteriouſly, as argued rather a conveniency, and expectation of the Journey it ſelf, than any neceſſity in point of time. Neither was the ground of his Majeſty's ſo poſitive and unalterable Reſolution of going thither, ſufficiently clear to Standers-by; who thought he might have tranſacted the buſineſs of that Kingdom (where he could not reaſonably expect any great reverence to his Perſon) better at a diſtance, and that his Preſence might be more neceſſary in This.

BUT, as his Majeſty's impatiency to ſee both Armies disbanded,

banded, and this Kingdom freed from the Invaſion (both which he heartily deſired) and his deſire to refreſh himſelf, from the vexation which the two Houſes, or one of them, or ſome in one of them, daily gave him; hurried him to that Expedition, without well weighing and preparing how to comport himſelf through it: So no doubt, that oppoſition, and inſtance againſt it (beſides the continued deſire they had to remove the King from any fix'd Reſolution) was deſign'd partly, to procure an excuſe for the haſty paſſing the Bill of Pacification; which they had purpoſely retarded (foreſeeing there were many particulars in it, that, if weigh'd, would never have been conſented to) till they might be ſo ſtraitned in time, that whoſoever objected againſt what was offer'd, might ſeem to hinder the Disbanding, and to neceſſitate the King's longer ſtay: but principally they hoped, that his Majeſty, rather than defer his Journey, on which he was reſolv'd, would conſent to any unreaſonable qualifying ſuch Perſons whom they ſhould name, with Power in his abſence: and moreover probably there was ſome real Jealouſy of the *Scots* at that time, and between the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners themſelves (as was conceiv'd by ſome) by reaſon of great Addreſſes made to the King by the Earl of *Rothes*, the principal and governing Perſon of that Nation, and ſome inſinuation of favour from his Majeſty to him; ſo that they did in earneſt deſire to put off that Journey, for fear of diſturbance There.

THE truth is, the King was well ſatisfied with the Promiſes made to him by that Earl; who deſir'd to live in this Court, and was to have been ſhortly made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and was in hope to Marry a great and wealthy Lady: and it is certain, the King expected, by His help and intereſt, to have found ſuch a Party in *Scotland*, as would have been more tender of his Honour than they after expreſs'd themſelves; and did always impute the failing thereof to the abſence of that Earl, who being ſick at the King's going from *London*, within ſix weeks after died. But others believ'd, He had been ſo far guilty of what had been done amiſs, that he would neither have been able, nor willing to preſerve the foundation of that Power, which might hardly have forgotten by what means it had been oppreſs'd.

The Iriſh Army diſbanded about this time.

I MUST not omit here, the Disbanding another Army, about the ſame time; the Circumſtances whereof were very remarkable, and the cauſe of much Trouble that enſued. The King perceiving that he was not now like to have any uſe of the new Army in *Ireland*; at leaſt not that uſe for which it was raiſed (which was, to have viſited *Scotland*) and finding often mention, enviouſly and maliciouſly, made

of

of that Army, in the Houſe of Commons; and having from thence (by the advice of the Committee for *Ireland*) receiv'd ſome Addreſſes for that purpoſe; reſolv'd to Disband them; and to that end, ſignified his Pleaſure to the Lord Juſtices of *Ireland*, and to the Earl of *Ormond* his Lieutenant-General of that Army; directing withal (according to the laſt advice he had receiv'd from the Earl of *Strafford*) "that "any Officers of the Army, ſhould have free leave to tranſ- "port what men they could get of that Army, for the ſer- "vice of any Prince in amity with this Crown: and ſhortly after, upon the earneſt deſire of *Don Alonzo de Cardenas*, Embaſſadour from the King of *Spain*, his Majeſty conſented, that four thouſand Soldiers of that Army ſhould be tranſported for the ſervice of that King into *Flanders*; at the ſame time permitting as many as deſired the ſame, to be tranſported for the ſervice of the *French* King. This was no ſooner known, but the Houſe of Commons interpos'd, with their accuſtom'd confidence and diſtemper, "to beſeech his Majeſty to revoke "that Licence; and, by impertinent and ſlight reaſons, boldly urged and inſiſted on, as they did in every thing elſe, prevail'd with the King, "to inhibit the tranſporting any of thoſe "Soldiers out of that Kingdom, for the ſervice of any Prince "whatſoever.

MANY were of opinion that this activity in a buſineſs of which They had not the leaſt connuſance, proceeded from the inſtigation of the Embaſſadour of the *French* King; who was very converſant with the principal perſons of that Faction, and no doubt fomented thoſe humours out of which the Publick Calamities were bred; and ſome ſaid boldly, and one or two have ſince affirm'd it, as upon their knowledge, "that "Mr *Pym* receiv'd five thouſand pound from that *French* "Miniſter, to hinder that Supply to *Spain*. Others believ'd, that it proceeded only from that proud and petulant ſpirit which poſſeſs'd them, to leſſen the reputation of the King; and to let the King of *Spain* and all other Princes ſee the Power They had, to oppoſe and croſs His reſolutions in the moſt pure acts of Soveraignty. But I believe, though there might be a mixture of Both the other reaſons, the principal motive that induced them to that Interpoſition, was the advice and deſire of the Committee from the Parliament of *Ireland*, whoſe counſel was entirely follow'd in Whatſoever concern'd that Kingdom; and who no doubt might have ſome Proſpect of the Rebellion that ſhortly after broke out, which could hardly have taken effect, if that Body of men had been remov'd out of the Kingdom, according to the King's direction. But of that more in its place.

ASSOON as the King begun his Journey for *Scotland*, all Orders,

Orders, and what elſe was neceſſary, were diſpatch'd for the Disbanding; and a Reſolution taken, "to ſend a Committee "of Lords and Commons to attend his Majeſty (that is, to "be a Spy upon him) in *Scotland*, and to be preſent when "the Act of Pacification ſhould be tranſacted in that Parlia-"ment, and to preſerve the good Intercourſe and Correſpon-"dence which was begun between the two Nations: but in truth, to lay the Scene how the next Year ſhould be ſpent; and to beſpeak new Laws for this Kingdom, by the Copies of what ſhould be conſented to for that.

In this Errand, two Lords, and four of the Commons, were appointed to go; but for the two Lords, the Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick* ſerv'd the turn; who was ready to be go-vern'd by Mr *Fiennes*, and Mr *Hambden*, who, together with Sr *William Armyn*, made up the Committee. Which being diſpatch'd, They thought it time to Breath a little, and to viſit their Countries, for whom they had done ſuch notable Service: and ſo, towards the latter end of *Auguſt* (having firſt conſtituted a Committee to Sit during the receſs, for the diſpatch of any important occurrences, and qualifying them with Power They could not depute; Such a Committee, and Such a Qualification, having never Before been heard of in Parliaments) Both Houſes Adjourn'd themſelves till the mid-dle of *October* following; by which time they preſumed the King would be return'd from *Scotland*; having, from the time that they were firſt convened, which was about nine months (longer time than ever Parliaments had before continued toge-ther in one Seſſion) beſides all the extraordinary Acts of Blood, and Power, procured the King's Aſſent to Theſe following important Laws; by ſome of which, the Kingdom might have receiv'd ample benefit and advantage.

The Acts paſs'd ſince the begin-ning of this Parliament.

An Act for Triennial Parlia-ments:

"A Bill for Triennial Parliaments: which took up a long Debate; there being many Clauſes, in Caſe the Crown ſhould omit the ſending out of Writs, derogatory to Majeſty, and letting the Reins too looſe to the People: Yet, ſince it was evident, that great Inconveniences had befallen the King-dom by the long Intermiſſion of thoſe Conventions; and that that Intermiſſion could not have happen'd, if there had not been ſome neglect of what had been ſettled by former Laws; Therefore there was ſome colour of Reaſon for thoſe Clauſes, by Which the Crown could in no caſe ſuffer, but by its own Default. At laſt it found an eaſy paſſage through Both Houſes; and by his Majeſty (who was ſatisfied with ſuch a frequency of meeting with his People, as once in three years, might be more convenient than prejudicial to his Ser-vice; and believ'd, that by His conſenting to this Act, the proceedings in the Parliament would be more moderate) it

had

had a favourable reception, and was Enacted by him the next day after it had pass'd both Houses.

An Act for taking away the High Commission Court;

An Act for the taking away the High Commission Court: which comprehended much more, than was generally intended. That Jurisdiction was erected by a Statute in the First year of Queen *Elizabeth*, instead of a larger Power which had been exercised under the Popes Authority, then abolish'd; and, whilst it was exercised with moderation, was an excellent means to vindicate and preserve the dignity and peace of the Church: though, from the beginning, it was murmur'd against by the Non-conformable Party of the Kingdom.

But of late, it cannot be denied, that by the great Power of some Bishops at Court, it had much overflow'd the Banks which should have contain'd it; not only in meddling with things that in truth were not properly within Their connusance; but extending their Sentences and Judgements in matters tryable before them, beyond that degree that was Justifiable; and grew to have so great a Contempt of the Common Law, and the Professors of it (which was a Fatal Unskilfulness in the Bishops, who could never have Suffer'd whilst the Common Law had been Preserv'd) that Prohibitions from the Supreme Courts of Law, which have, and must have, the Superintendency over all Inferior Courts, were not only Neglected, but the Judges Reprehended for granting them (which without Perjury They could not deny) and the Lawyers Discountenanced for moving for them (which They were oblig'd in Duty to do) So that thereby, the Clergy made almost a Whole Profession, if not their Enemies, yet very Undevoted to them.

Then, it was grown from an Ecclesiastical Court, for the reformation of Manners, to a Court of Revenue; and impos'd great Fines upon those who were culpable before them; sometimes above the degree of the Offence, had the Jurisdiction of Fining been unquestionable: which it was not. Which course of Fining was much more frequent, and the Fines heavier, after the King had granted all that Revenue (whatsoever it should prove to be) to be imploy'd for the Reparation of St *Paul's* Church; which, though it were a glorious work, and worthy the Piety of Those who advanced it, and the Greatness of His mind who principally intended it, made the Grievance the heavier.

By these means (besides the Conflux and Influence of That part of the Clergy then in Town, which had formerly been Obnoxious, and Suppress'd by the Bishops: Which I do not mention as any piece of Their Exorbitancy; for I do not know that ever any Innocent Clergy-man Suffer'd by any

Ecclesiastical

Ecclesiastical Censure; though, it may be, the Guilty were More Severely proceeded against, and with Less Politick circumstances, than the nature of that time requir'd) that Court had very few Friends; and having many Enemies, the Proposition for Abolishing it was easily hearkned to; of which the Violent Party readily taking notice, they who prepared the Bill inserted Clauses, that not only took away the High Commission Court, which was intended, but, upon the matter, the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and, under pretence of Reforming the great Abuses by the Oath *ex Officio*, and Excommunication, Destroy'd and Cancell'd all Coercive Power whatsoever in those Courts, which was never intended: Yet, in that hurry, it made a progress through both Houses, and attended the Royal assent. But, when his Majesty understood the Extent thereof, and how far the Body of the Bill exceeded the Title; and that, instead of Reformation, it was opening a door to the most Scandalous Offences, and leaving Adultery and Incest as Unpunishable, as any other acts of good Fellowship; He made a pause in the Consenting to it, till Both Houses might review whether the Remedy were proportionable to the Disease.

IMMEDIATELY the Fire was kindled against the Bishops, as the Only Obstacles to any Reformation; with some Passionate insinuations, "that, since They oppos'd a due Regu-"lation of their Power, there would be no way but to *cut* "them off Root and Branch. And thereupon, some Bishops themselves were again made instruments; and Others, who pretended to take care of the Church, perswaded the King, "for the Bishops sake, to confirm that Bill: whilst the Designers were much pleased to find that Logick prevail; little doubting, but when they had taken away their Jurisdiction in the Church, by that Bill, and their Dignity in the State, by removing them out of the House of Peers, They should find it no hard matter to abolish Their Names, and Titles out of the Kingdom; and to enjoy the goodly Land and Revenues, which could Only make the Reformation perfect and compleat. And in this manner that Law was enacted.

An Act for taking away the Star-Chamber Court:

A BILL for taking away the Star-Chamber Court. The Progress of which Bill was this. The Exorbitances of the Court had been such (as hath been before touch'd) that there were very few Persons of Quality, who had not suffer'd, or been perplex'd, by the Weight or Fear of those Censures and Judgements. For, having extended Their Jurisdiction, from Riots, Perjury, and the most notorious Misdemeanours, to an Asserting all Proclamations, and Orders of State; to the Vindicating Illegal Commissions, and Grants of Monopolies

(all

(all which were the chief Ground-works of their late Proceedings) no man could hope to be longer free from the Inquiſition of that Court, than he reſolv'd to ſubmit to thoſe, and the like extraordinary courſes. And therefore, there was an entire inclination, to Limit and Regulate the Proceedings of that Court: to which purpoſe, a Bill was brought in, and Twice read, and, according to cuſtom, Committed. It being return'd after, by the Committee, and the Amendments read; it was ſuddainly ſuggeſted (by a Perſon not at all inclin'd to Confuſion, or to the violent Party that intended that Confuſion) "That the Remedies provided by that Bill, "were not proportionable to the Diſeaſes; That the Uſur-"pations of that Court, were not leſs in the Forms of their "Proceedings, than in the Matter upon which they proceed-"ed; inſomuch that the Courſe of the Court (which is the "Rule of their Judging) was ſo much Corrupted, that the "Grievance was as much thereby, in thoſe Caſes of which "they had a proper Connuſance, as it was by their Exceſs in "holding Pleas of that, in which, in truth, They had no Ju-"riſdiction: and therefore He conceiv'd, the proper and "moſt natural Cure for that Miſchief, would be, utterly to "Aboliſh That Court, which it was very difficult, if not "impoſſible, to Regulate; and in place thereof, to Erect and "eſtabliſh ſuch a Juriſdiction as might be thought neceſſary. Hereupon, the ſame Bill was Re-committed, with direction, "ſo far to alter the Frame of it, as might ſerve utterly to take "away, and aboliſh that Court: which was accordingly done; and again brought to the Houſe, and Ingroſs'd, and ſent up to the Lords. So that important Bill was never Read but Once in the Houſe of Commons, and was never Committed; which, I believe, was never before heard of in Parliament.

It could not meet with any Oppoſition in the Houſe of Peers. All who had been Judges There, having their ſeveral Judgements hanging like Meteors over their heads; and the Reſt, being either Grieved, or Frighted, by it: and ſo, being brought to his Majeſty, receiv'd his Royal aſſent.

Thus fell that High Court, a great Branch of the Prerogative; having rather been Extended and Confirm'd, than Founded, by the Statute of the Tenth year of King *Henry* the Seventh: For, no doubt, it had both a Being, and a Juriſdiction, Before that time, though vulgarly it receiv'd date from thence; and, whilſt it was Gravely and Moderately govern'd, was an excellent Expedient, to Preſerve the Dignity of the King, the Honour of his Council, and the Peace and Security of the Kingdom. But the taking it away, was an act very Popular; which, it may be, was not Then more Politick

tick, than the Reviving it may be thought hereafter, when the preſent Diſtempers ſhall be expir'd.

An Act for the certainty of Meets, Bounds, and Limits, of Forreſts;

"AN Act for the Certainty of the Meets, Bounds, and "Limits, of all the Forreſts in *England*: which was a great Benefit and Eaſe to the People; who had been ſo immoderately vex'd by the Juſtice in Eyre's Seat (exerciſed with great Rigour by the Earl of *Holland*; and reviv'd by Mr *Noy*, when he was Attorney General) that few Men could aſſure themſelves their Eſtates and Houſes might not be brought within the Juriſdiction of ſome Forreſt; the which if they were, it coſt them great Fines: and therefore, to eaſe Them of their future Fears, the King departed with his Own unqueſtionable Right (which would, a year before, have been purchaſed at the price of at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds) without any murmur.

An Act limiting the Office of Clerk of the Market of his Majeſty's Houſe;

"AN Act, that no Clerk of the Market of his Majeſty's "Houſe, ſhould execute his Office in any part of the King-"dom, but only within the verge of the Court: and the exe-"cution of that Office, granted to Mayors, and Bayliffs "of Towns Corporate; and to the Lords of Liberties and "Franchiſes, and to their Deputies. By which, the People through *England*, were freed from many petty vexations, and extortions, which the Deputies and Agents for that Office (who commonly Farm'd the Perquiſites of it, within ſeveral limits) exerciſed over them. And let no Man ſay, that this was but an Act of Juſtice, for the Redreſs of viſible Miſdemeanours which his own Officers were guilty of; and that his Majeſty parted with nothing of Profit to Himſelf, by that Act: for the Miſdemeanours of any Office may be Prevented, and Puniſh'd, and Redreſs'd, without the Taking away, or Suppreſſing, the Office it ſelf; which is an inſtance of Power, and Prerogative. And the other was uſed as an argument heretofore (which few Men have ſince approv'd) for the paſſing away moſt of the Old Rents of the Crown, "that they yield-"ed little Profit to the Crown, being always ſwallow'd by "the many Officers incumbent upon that Service; without conſidering, that even thoſe many Officers, are of the Eſſential Honour, and Greatneſs of Princes. But, as that Computation was very Erroneous in point of Thrift, ſo it is much more Scandalous in point of Power; and he, that thinks the King gives away nothing that is worth the keeping, when he ſuffers an Office, which keeps and maintains many Officers, to be aboliſh'd, and taken away, does not conſider, that ſo much of his Train is abated, and that he is leſs ſpoken of, and conſequently leſs eſteem'd, in thoſe Places where that Power formerly extended; nor obſerves, how Private Men value themſelves upon thoſe leſſer Franchiſes, and Royalties, which

which especially keep up the Power, Distinction, and Degrees of men.

An Act for preventing Vexatious Proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood.

An Act for the Prevention of Vexatious Proceedings "touching the Order of Knighthood: by which, to Expiate the Trespasses which had been lately committed, by the Rigorous circumstances of Proceeding, upon that claim, the King parted with, and Releas'd to his People, a Right, and Duty, as unquestionably Due to him by the Law, as any Service He can lay claim to; and such, as the Subject receiv'd the discharge of it, as a singular benefit and advantage.

An Act for the free making Saltpetre and Gun-powder within the Kingdom:

An Act for the free making Salt-petre and Gun-powder "within the Kingdom: which was a Part of the Prerogative; and not only considerable, as it restrain'd that precious and dangerous commodity from vulgar hands; but, as in truth it brought a considerable Revenue to the Crown; and more to Those, whom the Crown gratified and obliged by that Licence. The Pretence for this Exemption was, "the Unjusti-"fiable Proceedings of Those (or of Inferior Persons quali-"fied by them) who had been trusted in that employment; by whom, it cannot be denied, many men suffer'd: But the True Reason was, that thereby They might be sure to have in readiness a good Stock in that Commodity, against the time their occasions should call upon them.

An Act against divers Encroachments and Oppressions in the Stannery Courts.

"An Act against divers Encroachments and Oppressions in "the Stannery Courts: the Logick of which Act, extended it self to all inferior Courts, and manner of proceedings throughout the Kingdom; though the full measure of that benefit, seem'd to be poured out upon the two Counties of *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*; the People whereof, had been so much oppress'd by the jurisdiction of that Court (supported and extended with great Passion and Fury by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord Warden of those Stanneries) that both Prohibitions, and *Habeas Corpus*'s from the King's Bench, had been disobey'd and neglected; not without some Personal Affront, and Reproach, to all the Judges of that Court: and therefore, it could not but be great ease of heart to those Parts, to be freed from the exorbitancy of that oppression.

An Act against Ship-money.

"An Act, whereby all the Proceedings in the business of "Ship-money were adjudged void, and disanull'd; and the "Judgements, Enrollments, and Entries thereupon, vacated, "and cancell'd: which (how just and necessary soever) was a frank departure from a Right, vindicated by a Judgement in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the Judges in *England*; and therefore deserv'd a just acknowledgement; besides that, some Clauses in that Statute, assert the Subjects Liberty and Property, beyond what was done by the Petition of Right: which needed an additional establishment.

THESE Acts of Parliament, finish'd and enacted in the time we speak of; besides the quitting the long used Right of laying Impositions upon Forreign Trade, in the Preamble of the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage; and besides that Fatal Bill for the Continuance of this Parliament; will be acknowledg'd, by an Incorrupted Posterity, to be Everlasting Monuments of the King's Princely and Fatherly Affection to his People; and such an Obligation of Repose and Trust from his Majesty in the Hearts of his Subjects, that no expressions of Piety, Duty, and Confidence, from Them, could have been more than a Sufficient Return on their Parts: which, how They perform'd, is to follow in the next place.

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THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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Clarendon, Edward Hyde <<of>>,

The History Of The Rebellion And Civil Wars In England, Begun in the Year 1641 With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the King's blessed Restoration, and Return, upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660
Bd.: 1,1

Oxford (1712)

Brit. 133-1,1
urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10279071-8